

INDIAN TRAVELS OF
THEVENOT
AND
CARRERI



RAR

915.4

SEN

SURENDRANATH SEN

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
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INDIAN RECORDS SERIES

GENERAL EDITOR: S. N. SEN





William Baffin's map: 'A description of East India conteyninge th' Empire of the Great Mogoll'

INDIAN RECORDS SERIES

INDIAN TRAVELS OF THEVENOT AND CARERI

BEING THE THIRD PART OF THE TRAVELS
OF M. DE THEVENOT INTO THE LEVANT AND
THE THIRD PART OF A VOYAGE ROUND THE
WORLD BY DR. JOHN FRANCIS GEMELLI CARERI

EDITED BY
SURENDRANATH SEN,

Director of Archives, Government of India

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA
QUEENSWAY, NEW DELHI

1949



Indira Gandhi National
Centre for the Arts

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THEVENOT AND CARRER

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SURENDRANATH SEN

Director of Archives, Government of India

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PREFACE

In June 1900 the Royal Asiatic Society of England drew the attention of the Government of India to the desirability of publishing a series of volumes bearing upon Indian history. The object of the Society was "to foster the growth of historical researches in India by publishing monographs summarizing the historical data scattered through the numerous oriental texts and these documents," which, according to the sponsors of the scheme, would "form the material out of which the social, industrial and political history of India could be reconstructed." The idea found favour with the Government of India and it was decided to publish through the Society two different series, viz., "The Indian Text Series" and "The Indian Records Series." An annual grant of Rs. 15,000 for five years was sanctioned, but the Government retained the right to decide as to what books should be published in either series and in what order. In 1905 it was noticed that the Society was indifferent to the Records Series and the Secretary of the State entrusted this part of the publication to Messrs John Murray and the work proceeded under the direct supervision of the India Office. In the course of the next eight (1905-1913) years S. C. Hill's *Bengal in 1756-1757* (3 vols), C. R. Wilson's *Old Fort William* (2 vols), H. D. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* (4 vols), and the *Diaries of Streynsham Master* (3 vols) were duly published and then the series came to an abrupt end. In January 1942 the recently reconstituted Indian Historical Records Commission urged upon the Government of India the necessity of resuming their long interrupted publication activities and presented a comprehensive scheme envisaging the printing *in extenso* of the General Letters to and from the Court of Directors in 21 volumes, the revival of the Indian Records Series, and the publication through private agencies of documents in oriental languages in the custody of the National Archives of India (then Imperial Record Department). The new Records Series was to consist in the first instance of (a) Minutes of the Governor-Generals, (b) Browne Correspondence and (c) The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri. Travellers' accounts cannot be classed as records in the technical sense of the term, but as they are of undoubted value as raw materials of social and economic history of seventeenth century India the Commission was of opinion that they should have a place in the new series. The Government of India lent their support to the scheme but it could not be immediately implemented on account of the abnormal conditions caused by the war. But the preliminary work was at once taken in hand and steps were taken in September 1942 to terminate the existing contract with Messrs John Murray.

Under the scheme prepared by the Commission and adopted by the Government of India the entire responsibility of editing and publishing the Indian Records Series devolved upon their Director of Archives (formerly Keeper of Records). For obvious reasons the editing of the

Governor-Generals' Minutes and Browne Correspondence had to wait for the conclusion of the war and the Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri was given precedence over the rest. Both the works were available in early English versions and it was considered undesirable to interfere with them, but a cursory comparison with the original French and Italian texts revealed omissions and inaccuracies which could not be left unnoticed. Principal J. D. Ward of Aitchison College, Lahore, then on military duty at New Delhi, very kindly placed his scanty leisure and linguistic gifts unreservedly at my disposal and readily volunteered to compare the extant English translation with the originals. But for his kind assistance the publication of this volume might have been indefinitely delayed and for all textual improvement the credit is entirely his.

In editing and annotating the present volume I have received cordial co-operation from so many quarters that an adequate acknowledgment of all my obligations is well nigh impossible. Sir William Foster despite the weight of four score years promptly replied to all my enquiries and often took the trouble of hunting up the information I sought in different libraries of London. I should also like to record here my indebtedness to the following for information relating to their particular branches of study and loan of books and supply of bibliographical data from their respective libraries :—Dr B. N. Chopra, D.Sc., F.N.I., Director, Zoological Survey of India ; Cavaliero Panduranga Pissurlencar, Curator, Historical Records of Portuguese India ; Dewan Bahadur Professor C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Principal, Shivaganga College, Shivaganga (South India) ; Mr A. J. Macdonald, B.Sc., B.Sc. (Agri), N.D.A., Imperial Veterinary Research Institute, Izatnagar ; Mr Q. M. Munir, B.A., F.L.A., Archaeological Survey of India ; Dr H. G. Randle, Librarian, India Office ; Prof. C. V. Joshi, M.A., Rajdaftardar, Baroda ; Mr P. M. Joshi, Bombay University Library ; Mr M. W. H. DeSilva, Ceylon Government Representative in India ; Senhor A. B. De Braganca Pereira, Presidente da Comissao Permanente de Arqueologia, Nova Goa ; Dr T. A. Cockburn, Assistant Superintendent, Zoological Society of London ; Mm. Professor D. V. Potdar, Bharata Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandala, Poona ; Dr Ghulam Yazadani, M.A., D.Litt., O.B.E., Hyderabad (Deccan) ; Professor Jagdish Narain Sarkar, M.A., Patna College, Patna ; Mr V. N. Damodaran Nambier, B.A., B.L., Superintendent, Central Records, Ernakulam ; Prof. Girija Prasanna Majumdar, M.Sc., B.L., Ph.D., Presidency College, Calcutta ; Mr K. S. Srinivasan, Indian Museum, Calcutta ; Dr B. S. Guha, Director, Anthropological Survey of India ; Dr B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India ; Mr Willy Heimann, Stockholm ; Mr E. J. Dingwall, Honorary Assistant Keeper, Printed Books and Mr A. I. Ellis, Deputy Keeper of Printed Books, British Museum ; Mr M. Rieunier, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris ; Miss Althea Warren, City Librarian, Los Angeles Public Library ; Mr Lyle H. Wright, Bibliographer, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, Calif ; Mr Horace I. Poleman, Chief, Indic Section, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. ; Mr Paul North Rice, Chief of the Reference Department, The New York Public Library, New York ; Mr R. Gopalan, M.A., L.T., of the Central

Secretariat Library, New Delhi and Mr Des Raj Sharma, M.A., of the Central Archaeological Library, New Delhi.

It will be redundant to mention here my colleagues of the National Archives of India whose ungrudging assistance has considerably lightened my labour and facilitated my work.

A word may be added here about the notes. All omissions and errors in the translation have been corrected in the notes without any specific indication in all cases. Synonyms of archaic words, where considered necessary, have also been supplied. It is hoped there will be no difficulty in distinguishing them from the corrections.

*National Archives of India,
New Delhi,
the 23rd December, 1948.*

SURENDRANATH SEN



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NOTE:—Plates Nos. 1-14 have been reproduced from the French edition of Travels of M. de Thevenot, published in Paris, 1689; Nos. 15-17 from the English edition of his Travels, London, 1687 and Nos. 18-19 from the Italian edition of Dr. Gemelli Careri's Travels, (Naples, 1699 and 1700) and Plate No. 20 by the courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, India.

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INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION

I

The seventeenth century found many European travellers in India. They were a motley crowd of merchants and medicos, envoys and ecclesiastics, soldiers and sailors, fortune hunters and adventurers of all descriptions. They came from diverse countries by diverse routes on diverse missions; some in quest of trade, others in search of a career, and yet others, a small minority, to seek diversion in new countries among new peoples with strange manners and novel customs. Tom Coryat, the eccentric but "unwearied walker", hiked all the way from Aleppo to Ajmer and "hath not left a pillar or tombe nor ould character unobserved almost in all Asia." "His notes," already "too great for portage" were left "some at Aleppo, some at Hispan" for he travelled light, his daily expense being limited to two copper pence. The German Mandelslo was better provided. A man of noble birth and liberal education, he accompanied, of his own accord, the Holstein embassy to Ispahan and subsequently sailed to Surat. The Italian Pietro della Valle traversed the wide plains of Egypt, Palestine, Assyria and Persia and thence crossed over to India not to shake the proverbial pagoda tree but to forget frustrated love under a new sun and a new sky in more congenial environments. Probably their wander-lust was inflamed by the legends of the gorgeous east and reinforced by the lure of the unknown, but they were all seekers of knowledge loyal and true. To this rare company belonged Jean de Thevenot and Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri. Neither greed nor cupidity not even their country's interest but natural curiosity brought them to the east and with uncommon fidelity they recorded what they saw and heard.

II

Jean de Thevenot was born at Paris on the 6th June 1633. He died near the small town of Miana in Persia while returning to his native land after an arduous journey of about four years on the 28th November 1667. During this brief span of thirty-four years he had visited more countries of Europe, Asia and Africa than many of his contemporaries ever heard of. An ardent student of geography and natural sciences, he assiduously studied the accounts of early travellers in which his uncle Melechisedech was keenly interested. The elder Thevenot long survived his nephew but he never crossed the limits of his own continent. If not so well known as an explorer, Melechisedech de Thevenot may claim to have vitally influenced his famous nephew's career by his literary enterprise. In emulation of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas he undertook to compile exhaustive accounts of famous travels under the title of

"Relations of diverse curious voyages hitherto unpublished which have been translated or extracted from the original works of French, Spanish, German, Portuguese, Dutch, Persian, Arab and other Travellers." Jean de Thevenot probably inherited his taste for strange lands and strange languages from his scholarly uncle. A man of independent means he could travel wherever he liked without any financial worry. In 1652 he set out on his European tour and visited in succession England, Holland, Germany and Italy. In 1655 he met at Rome Herbelot, "the most learned Man of his own, or perhaps of any Age, in every Branch of Oriental Literature",¹ according to the editor of Harris's *Navigation*, and they planned a trip to the east. For reasons unknown to us Herbelot could not go but Thevenot left Rome on 31st May to embark at Civita Vecchia on a galley commanded by Count Gaddi. After five months in Sicily and Malta he sailed for Constantinople. On the 30th August of the next year (1656) he set out for Anatolia whence he proceeded by sea to Egypt. The voyage proved unusually long but Thevenot ultimately reached Alexandria. In Egypt he saw the Nilometres and visited the Pyramids. He then joined a caravan bound for Suez as he wanted to have a look at the Red Sea. While returning his boat was set upon and plundered by Arab pirates but he eventually reached Cairo and sailed to Tunis in an English ship. A visit to the ruins of Carthage concluded his first voyage to the east but the journey home was not without the usual adventures. The boat in which he left Tunis encountered three Spanish corsairs and in the sanguine conflict that followed the young traveller almost lost his life. The corsairs, however, were worsted and Thevenot safely reached Livourne and returned to France through Italy in 1662. His friends and relatives fondly hoped that seven years of unmitigated hardship had sufficiently cooled his passion for foreign countries but the east called him back before long and he readily responded. As soon as his private affairs were settled Jean de Thevenot was out of Paris (16th October 1663) but he did not finally leave France till 24th January 1664 when he embarked at Marseilles. The 24th of the next month found him at Alexandria. He did not tarry there long and went east to visit Damascus, Aleppo and Mosul and then sailed down the Tigris to Bagdad. From Bagdad Thevenot went to Persia and after five months at Ispahan left for Bandar Abbas to catch a boat for India. Thwarted in his object Thevenot retraced his steps and visited the ancient monuments at and around Shiraz. The voyage to India was only postponed but not abandoned. On the 6th November 1665 he boarded at Basra an English built ship the *Hopewell* owned by an Armenian and commanded by an Italian, Captain Bernardo. The fare from Basra to Surat was 40 Abbasis or 60 shillings per head which was

1. Barthelémy d'Herbelot, born at Paris 1625, died 1695, studied Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac, Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Ferdinand II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, invited him to his court and presented him a rich collection of oriental manuscripts. He later became Professor of Syriac at College de France. He had a large number of publications on oriental subjects to his credit. He went to Rome in 1655 with a view to contacting oriental people visiting the ports of Italy.

three times as high as a Muslim ship would charge. On the New Year's Day 1666 the ship arrived near Diu, a Portuguese port off the coast of Gujarat, and four days later another Portuguese station Bassein was sighted and then the *Hopewell* sailed north past Daman and reached the Surat Bar on Sunday the 10th January. Soon afterwards the ship was boarded by a customs officer and the French traveller had his first experience of the Great Moghul's agents. From Surat he travelled overland to Ahmabad and Cambay farther north when he retracted his steps to the starting port. But he was not to stay there long. Across the Deccan peninsula he journeyed to Masulipatam on the eastern coast passing through Burhanpur, Aurangabad and Golkonda, cities noted for their commerce and industry, and visited on his way the far famed rock-cut temples of Ellora. He was the first European to describe these wonderful caves² and if his account of the sculptures and images are somewhat vague and inadequate we must not forget that few westerners were at that date sufficiently conversant with Indian iconography to identify Hindu and Buddhist idols and Thevenot spent only two hours at Ellora. By the end of the year he was back at Surat whence he sailed for Bandar Abbas in February 1667 en route to France but the rigours of his unceasing travels had seriously impaired his health and he passed away in Persia at the early age of thirty four. Thevenot's premature decease was a serious loss to science and oriental learning. But if death cut short his career so early the immortal fame that was his by right was not denied a moment too long. His *Voyage to the Levant*, published at Paris in 1664, proved a great success and definitely established his reputation as a keen observer and an able writer and his posthumous publications not only ensured but considerably added to that renown. Conversant with the principal languages of the Middle East, Turkish, Arabic and Persian, Thevenot freely moved among the people of those countries and he could not have experienced much inconvenience in India on the score of language as most of the Muslim officers and some Hindu dignitaries as well spoke at least one of these tongues. If his physique succumbed to the rigours of twelve years of toil and discomfort in foreign lands his indomitable will refused to own defeat until the last moment. In spite of failing health and approaching death Thevenot continued to write his journal and "described his Journey as far as the Bourg of *Farsank*, where he lodged the 16th of November." After his death the remaining parts of Thevenot's manuscripts were arranged and published by two of his friends, *Sieur de Luisandre* and the French Orientalist *Petis*. They passed through many editions and were translated into English, Dutch and German. To the students of Indian history Thevenot's *Voyages* is a work of abiding interest for nothing illustrates so well the merits and demerits of a foreign traveller's account of a country so vast with a history so chequered and a culture so ill-comprehended. But Thevenot did not

2. Seely remarks "M. Thevenot was but two hours inspecting them (the rock cut temples of Ellora); and speaks of his fear in passing under the excavated mountains. Without wishing to detract from the merit of former travellers, I must observe, that from personal observation I have discovered much inaccuracy, and occasionally wilful exaggeration." *Wonders of Elora*, p. 327.

confine himself to a general account of India and its people, he tried to describe in a general way its fauna and flora as well. The Indian flora however aroused his interest most and he essayed a separate scientific work in which each of the plants was to have a full and graphic description.

The Voyages of Jean de Thevenot were issued in successive parts from 1664 to 1684. *Relation d'un Voyage fait au Levant dans laquelle il est . . . traité des états sujets au Grand-Seigneur, de l'Archipel, Terre Sante, Egypte, Arabie*—Paris 1664—4°.

Do., Rouen and Paris 1665.

Suite du même voyage où il est traité de la Perse—Paris, 1674.

Relation de l'Indoustan, des nouveaux Mogols et des autres peuples et pays des Indes—Paris, 1684.

These three parts were later collected under one title and issued in 5 vols. in 1689.

Voyages de M. de Thevenot tant en Europe qu'en Asie et en Afrique—Paris, 1689, 5 vols. 12°.

Five successive editions in five volumes each appeared at Amsterdam in 1705, 1723, 1725, 1727 and 1729.

A Dutch translation published at Amsterdam in 1681 is mentioned in *Biographie Universelle*.³

At least one German version is known. It consisted of three parts separately numbered and was published at Frankfort in 1693. The third part relates to Thevenot's Indian travels and has 228 pages. The title page is as follows :

Dess/Hn THEVENOTS/Reysen/In/Ost-Indian/Dritter Theil/In sich haltend/Eine genaue Beschreibung des Konigreichs Indostan/, der/neuen Mongols und anderer Völcker und Länder in Ost Indien/Nebent/Ihren Sitten, Gesetzen, Religionen, Festen, Tempeln, Pagoden, Kirchhöfen/Commerciën, und andern merckwürdigen Sachen/

Mit Röm. Kayserl Majest und Chur-Sachs. gnädiger Freyhut/Franckfurt am Mayn/Gedruckt und Verlegt durch Phillipp Fievet Buchhandlern/Anna M.D. CXCI.

It appears that Thevenot's *Voyages* was first rendered into English by A. Lovell and printed in 1687 at London by H. Clark for H. Faithorne, J. Adamson, C. Skegnes and T. Newborough, Booksellers in St. Paul's Churchyard. It was in three parts (i) Turkey (ii) Persia and (iii) The East-Indies.

Extracts appeared in Harris's *Navigation*, 1742, 1744-1748, 1750 and 1764, in John Knox's *A New collection of Voyages, Discoveries and Travels* 1767 and in John Newbery's "*World Displayed*" 1774 but the Indian part was not included in any of these compilations.

III

Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri was eighteen years younger than Jean de Thevenot. He was born of a noble family of Radicena (Calabria)

3. Volume 45, p. 384.

in 1651 and unlike the Frenchman lived to a ripe old age and died at Naples in 1725, long after he had concluded his tour round the world (1698). A student of jurisprudence and a lawyer by profession, Careri had attained the highest distinction his University had to confer, for his learned labours had earned him the degree of Doctor of Civil Law. For a few years he practised law and then some misfortunes at home which he does not specify drove him abroad to seek peace. But as the editor of Churchill's *Voyages and Travels* affirms he did not go "as a vagabond trusting to Fortune, but well provided with Money to make him acceptable in all Parts, and gain Admittance where others under worse Circumstances could not." Like Thevenot again he started by visiting European countries first. Between 1685 and 1687 he travelled in Italy, France, England, Belgium, Holland and Germany. He is believed to have served as a volunteer in Hungary in 1687 and then went to Portugal and Spain and returned home in 1689 but his account of his European travels was published much later.⁴ He had apparently resumed his practice but "the ill treatment and perpetual persecution to which he was subjected in his family" again sent him on a longer journey away from the uncongenial environments. When he left Radicena in June 1693 he told his brother that he intended to visit the Holy Lands alone but he had already made up his mind not to return until he had gone round the world. Careri was familiar with the published works of Thevenot. We do not know to what extent his tour programme was based on that of the French traveller but it is interesting to note that like Thevenot he also began his eastward voyage by visiting Sicily and Malta and then proceeding to Alexandria. He travelled up the Nile to see the ancient monuments of the country. From Egypt Careri went to Palestine. After visiting the sacred sites he returned by sea to Alexandria where he embarked for Smyrna on the 12th October. He left that town two months later and went to Gallipoli. From there he travelled as far as Adrianople and early in January of the next year (1694) reached Constantinople. Careri next came back to Smyrna where his luggage had been left and then set out for Trebizond. After crossing the mountains of Armenia and Georgia he entered Persia and arrived at Ispahan on the 17th July. While there Careri exploited his friendship with the Polish ambassador and in his train twice visited the court of the Shiah. Like Thevenot again he visited Shiraz and the ruins of Persepolis and then went *via* Lar to Bandar Congo where he took a boat for Daman on the 26th November 1694. But it was not until the 10th January 1695 that Careri arrived at his destination. The journey was not without its excitements. Careri had been advised to take his passage in an English boat bound for Surat but he preferred a Moorish ship going to Daman instead. The English were then at war with the French and he apprehended that French men-of-war might be lying in wait near Surat for their enemies but the Moors were at peace with all nations and it was safer to travel in one of their vessels. He had been also told that the customs house men at Surat were exceptionally strict as pearls were often smuggled from Persia through

4. *Viaggi per Europa*, 2 Vols, first published at Naples in 1701.

that port. Moreover the English boat had yet to take its cargo while the ship of his choice was ready to sail immediately. The fare from Congo to Daman says Careri was "according to the usual rate a Toman for me and thirty *Abassis*" for the servant but through the good offices of the Portuguese Commissioner he got his passage free. The sea was infested by corsairs. The Baloches pirates operated in their home waters while the notorious Sanghanians cruised along the coast from Sind to Gujarat and sometimes extended their lawless activities as far as the Bay of Surat. The pilot a former trader in tobacco knew nothing about things nautical. No wonder the ship lost its bearing and an overdose of opium did not help to restore the confused pilot's sang-froid. Every sail on the distant horizon caused an alarm and Careri had no doubt that more than once they narrowly escaped the Sanghanians. He had only one thing to say in their favour, while the Baloches pirates made slaves of their prisoners and treated them with barbarous cruelty the Sanghanians being Hindus were content with the prize and left the passengers alone. At last when the coast line was in view and the captain and crew were under the erroneous impression that they were somewhere between Bassein and Daman Careri volunteered to go ashore and ascertain their position. He found to his dismay that they were off Mangrol, a small port of Gujarat, far to the north of Daman and the point they had sighted a few days earlier was not Diu as they had persuaded themselves but probably a stronghold of the dreaded Sanghanians. It is no small credit to him that in the midst of all this confusion Careri did not fail to note when he first saw a flying fish. Once at Daman Careri was among friends for throughout his journey in the east he experienced nothing but kindness from the Portuguese. From Daman he went to Bassein where the Superior of the Jesuits invited him to settle and resume his legal practice. He was assured not only of a number of wealthy clients but also of an advantageous marriage but the prospects of a happy home and a busy practice could not tempt the restless wanderer. He moved on and visited the famous Buddhist caves at Kanheri which his fellow countryman Pietro della Valle had left unnoticed. Careri wrongly imagined that he was the first European to describe this wonder of industry and stone carvers' art for long before him Garcia da Orta had given a brief account of the cave temples of Mandapeshwar and Kanheri. The Dutchman John Huyghen van Linschoten almost literally reproduced Da Orta's account but Careri can rightly claim that no writer, Indian or European, had previously described the caves in such minute details with such unerring accuracy.⁵ Thevenot's accounts of Ellora compares but

5. Sir Thomas Herbert probably refers to the Mandapeshwar caves when he writes of a temple "by incredible toil cut out of the hard Rock", which "was divided into three Isles and Galleries", and "the idols so exceeding ugly as would affright an *European Spectator*; nevertheless, this was a celebrated place, and so abundantly frequented by idolaters, as induced the *Portuguese* in zeal with a considerable force to master the Town and to demolish the Temples, breaking in pieces all the monstrous brood of misshapen Pagods."—p. 40. The demolition however was not thorough and complete as Herbert suggests for some of the figures were simply plastered over. Recently the removal of the plaster revealed a remarkable Nataraja group.

unfavourably with Careri's graphic discourse on Kanheri which may still serve as an excellent guide for the visitors of to-day so far as the general aspects are concerned. It is true he mistook Buddhas and Bodhisattvas for Greek giants and ascribed the rock-hewn temples to Alexander. But Indology was a science yet to be born when Careri rode to Kanheri and the average educated European knew the story of Alexander's Indian campaign and things of a gigantic dimension were naturally associated with the Greek hero just as Indians were wont to credit to Bhima all performances involving superhuman exertion. But Careri was not alone in his error. William⁶ Finch thought that the Asoka pillar in the Allahabad fort "seemeth to have been placed by Alexander or some other great conqueror, who could not passe further for Ganges". Coryat laboured under a triple delusion when he asserted that he had been to a city called "Detee (Delhi) where Alexander the Great Joyned battell with Porus, King of India, and conquered him; and in token of his victorie erected a brasse pillar, which remaineth to this day."⁷ Alexander did not fight Porus at Delhi, he did not set up a pillar there and the one to which Coryat alludes was of polished sandstone and not of brass. Once a legend gains sufficient currency it is apt to be accepted without criticism, and we are not surprised when Sir Thomas Herbert⁸ says that the Allahabad pillar was "probably fixt there for ostentation by *Alexander or Bacchus*" and quotes in support Ovid's verses :

Whose conquest through the Orient are renowned
Where tawny India is by Ganges bound.

Careri did not fail to notice the inscriptions of Kanheri though he did not care to give an exhaustive list. In his days neither the script nor the subject matter of these strange writings were known but they have since been all deciphered. He followed the same road from Mandapeshwar as a modern visitor does to-day, the road is still bad, but the jungle has been thinned and the wild animals have all disappeared with the exception of perhaps a few jackals. When Lord Valentia went to Kanheri in the early years of the nineteenth century the jungle was still haunted by tigers.⁹ A few hamlets or to be more accurate, miserable huts are still to be found in the forest between Borivili and Kanheri but it is not possible to identify the villages Careri passed through. The caves were deserted long before he came to India and they still remain completely untenanted though most of them are in an excellent state of preservation and may serve as good dormitories for people seeking solitude. Careri then proceeded to Goa. Like other travellers he refers to the decline of Portuguese power in India but there is hardly any hint about that moral depravity of which Francois Pyrard de Laval and Pietro della Valle made

6. Foster—*Early Travels in India*, p. 177.

7. Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

8. Herbert—*Some Yeares Travels*, pp. 66-67.

9. Valentia—*Voyages and Travels*, Vol. II, p. 198 (London 1809).

so much.¹⁰ At Ispahan, Congo, Daman, Bassein and Goa, Careri had enjoyed the unbounded hospitality of Portuguese priests and laymen alike and although he writes of the stinginess of two Augustinian fathers the Portuguese had every claim on his gratitude. Careri left Goa before long for his cherished object was yet unattained. He wanted to have an audience of the Great Moghul himself. Aurangzeb was then encamped at Galgala waging a war against the Hindu and Muslim powers of the south that was ultimately to prove the ruin of his empire. To Galgala then Careri turned his unwearied steps accompanied by a Kanarese porter from Goa and a Hindu interpreter from Golkonda. Through the good offices of the Christian soldiers in the Moghul army Careri at last obtained admission to the court of the Emperor of whom he has left a fairly good pen-picture. His ambition fulfilled, Careri returned to Goa by a partly different route and embarked for China. He visited Macao, Canton, Nanking and Peking. While in China he was suspected to be an emissary of the Pope specially deputed to enquire into the differences then prevailing among the missionaries of different orders. Unfounded as it was, the suspicion cost him the good feelings of the Jesuits. None the less he managed to get an introduction to the Emperor and thus had audience of three of the mightiest rulers in Asia, a good luck that fell to the lot of few travellers. It is needless to add that a man of Careri's enterprise and inquisitiveness could not leave China without visiting the great wall. He left Peking on the 25th November, 1695 and set out from Macao on the 9th April 1696 to arrive at Manilla on the 8th May. A Spanish galleon took him across the Pacific and after a long voyage of five months he reached Acapulco in Mexico on the 12th January 1697. Then he went to Mexico city where he was warmly received by the Viceroy, Count of Montezuma, a nobleman of mixed descent as his name indicates. But the charms of the metropolis could not hold him long and he was on his way again intent on seeing the mines of Pachuca and the pyramids of Tezcuco. After witnessing many of the wonders of the two worlds he at last turned homewards and reached Cadiz on the 4th June 1698. He then travelled across Spain to France and took a boat at Marseilles for Genoa. From Genoa he proceeded to Milan and from Milan to his home town of Naples where Careri reached on the third of December. According to his own calculation, Careri completed his tour round the world in five years five months and twenty days. A man of untiring energy Gemelli Careri had kept his journal with strict punctuality and even in the midst of a stormy voyage he did not fail to note anything worth recording. After his return home he did not take long to revise his journal put it in the proper form and get it ready for the press. *Giro del Mondo* was published in six volumes at Naples in 1699-1700. Each volume dealt specially with one particular country and was dedicated to a separate personage. The first volume was dedicated to Don Luigi, Duke of Medina and the volume on Indostan (Hindusthan) to Don Carlos Sanseverino, Prince of Birigiano

10. Pyrard, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 114-115.
Pietro della Valle—Vol. I, p. 161.

and Duke of Sao Marco. The publication attained an unprecedented popularity and a second edition quickly followed. The Italian text went through eight editions within thirty years, six in the author's lifetime and two after his death.

Giro del Mondo 6 vols. Naples, 1699-1700

6 vols. Venice, 1700

9 vols. „ 1710

9 vols. „ 1719

6 vols. Paris, 1719

6 vols. Naples, 1721

6 vols. Paris, 1727

9 vols. Venice, 1728

The last edition, that of 1728, is usually considered to be the best.

Careri's fame as a writer and traveller soon spread across the limits of his own country and his work was translated into English, French, German, Spanish and Portuguese. Within four years of the publication of the Italian text an English version appeared in Awnsham and John Churchill's *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1704) and reappeared in the subsequent editions of that collection in 1732, 1744, 1745 and 1752. Extracts from Careri's account of China were printed in Thomas Astley's *New General Collections of Voyages and Travels* in 1745-47 and the *Travels round the World* found a place in *A Compendium of Authentic and Entertaining Voyages* edited by Tobias Smollett, published in 1756 and re-published ten years later (in 1766). Obviously Careri had lost none of his original popularity. John Harris mentions him and may have utilised his work but did not reprint any part of it, James Burney commented on Careri's account of his voyage from Manila to Mexico in Vol. IV of his *Chronological History of Discoveries in the South Sea* (1803-1817) and Plates of Mexican antiquities reappeared in Vol. IV of Aglio's *Antiquities of Mexico* (1830-48). The first French version was published at Paris in six volumes in 1719 under the title of *Voyage autour du Monde*. It went through two more editions in 1727 and 1776-1777 and again found a place in Vol. 16 of Antoine Francois Prevost's *Histoire Générale des Voyages* (1747-80) and Vol. 15 of J. F. Laharpe's *Abrégé de l'histoire générale des Voyages* (1816). A German rendering *Reise um die Welt* is available in Vol. IV of *Allgemeine Historie der Reisen zu Wasser und Lande* (Leipzig 1747-77) and a Portuguese version *Naufrage d'une Patache Portugues* in Vol. 3 of *Voyages Imaginaires* (Amsterdam 1787-1789). The Spanish translation of the part relating to Mexico *Viaji a la Nueva Espana* was published at Mexico as recently as 1927.

If Careri found a wide circle of readers in Western Europe both before and after his death some of the later critics had not been very kind to him. He has been roundly accused of literary piracy and unscrupulous mendacity. It has been suggested that he had never been to the court of Peking and his account was based entirely on the works of previous writers. One

critic went so far as to insinuate that Gemelli Careri had never been out of Naples and the whole of his voyage was an outrageous invention. Careri makes no secret of his indebtedness to his predecessors. In fact he refers by name to Maffaeus (pp. 27, 69, 73, 75, 94, 209 and 304). Thevenot (pp. 13, 196, 214 and 230), Tavernier (pp. 85, 187, 188 and 223), Bernier (pp. 136, 196 and 212) and Teixeira (p. 196) in Part III of his *Giro del Mondo* and also mentions *Vida de Affonso de Albuquerque* (p. 96) and *Asia Portuguesa* (p. 95), though the author's (Fariya e Souza) name is not given. But it is preposterous to suggest that Careri produced a work so informative and accurate without ever leaving his native city. His detailed description of Kanheri alone would give a lie to the charge.¹¹ Whether he was actually introduced to Aurangzeb at Galgala or to the Chinese Emperor at Peking it is difficult to prove or disprove at this distance of time but how could he learn that Aurangzeb was at Galgala, a place by no means widely known, in March 1695 without ever leaving Naples is a question that is not easy to answer. Careri had certainly been to India and no less an authority than Humboldt asserts that he must have been to Mexico as well. "I shall not discuss the question whether Gemelli had been to China and Persia", says he "but having travelled in the interiors of Mexico, mainly by the road the Italian traveller describes so minutely I can affirm that Gemelli had as undoubtedly been to Mexico, to Acapulco, and in the small villages of Matzlan and San Augustin de les

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11. A brief winter day was all that Careri could spare for Kanheri and the journey back had to be completed before darkness added to the dangers of a tiger infested jungle path. That probably explains the omission of a few interesting details which we notice in his account of the Chaitya hall. Evidently he had not the time to examine more carefully the figures ranged on either side of the main door of the spacious cave nor did he realise that they were the conventional effigies of the donors and their wives and that is why he failed to recognise that on the right as well as on the left there are two male figures with the complement of a couple of the other sex. Though the upper part of one of the female figures on the right side of the door is missing a cursory glance at the anklets on the legs and the clothes leave no doubt about its real character. Careri correctly says that seventeen of the pillars in the Chaitya hall "have capitals" but his account remains incomplete when he adds that they had "figures of elephants on them." Elephants there are and plenty of them but they form parts of sculptured groups depicting different scenes. Sometimes the elephants are seen pouring water on stupas while two naga figures hold *Purna Kalasas* or pitchers filled with water. In other cases they pay their homage to the sacred Bodhi tree. In one group royal personages are seen riding elephants obviously to a place of worship; in another a worried *mahout* anxiously attempts to control an infuriated tusker. The figures on another capital depict riders gliding down the flanks of the beast and elsewhere a frightened lady is being coaxed to mount it. Two other animals sacred to the Buddhists, a lion and a horse, both couchant, are seen on the first pillar to the proper left while on another a bull is seen on the back side. Thus the Kanheri capitals bear all the four animals which are found on Asoka pillars. Since Careri visited Kanheri one pillar in Cave No. 10 has disappeared and of the four figures he saw in Cave No. 31 the outline of the seated ones alone remain while the standing figures are entirely gone. Otherwise the caves remain as the Italian traveller found them more than two hundred and fifty years ago.

Ceuves as Pallas to Crimea and M. Salt to Abyssinia." Abbe Clavigero, who traversed Mexico fifty years before Humboldt, pertinently asked how the author of *Giro del Mondo* could so accurately describe persons living at the time, the convents of Mexico, and churches of many villages unknown even by name in Europe without ever leaving Italy.¹² Whatever may be the shortcomings of his account Careri was no charlatan but that does not mean that each and every one of his statements must be accepted without a careful scrutiny.

IV

Both Thevenot and Careri had eyes to see and ears to hear, they were blessed with an unusually retentive memory, they wielded a facile pen and commanded a charming style. Careri had not, it is true, the linguistic abilities of Thevenot but he made up for this deficiency by his social virtues which earned him the friendship of Europeans of all nationalities resident in the east. His narrative was all the more readable, interspersed as it was with the gossips of the market place and scandals whispered at the dinner table. But both of them suffered from one common handicap. They were expected to deal with subjects beyond their personal experience and they wrote not only of what they saw but also of what came to their knowledge through less dependable sources. In assessing the historical value of their evidence it is therefore essential to remember that things heard are not things seen and to see things is not to comprehend them properly.

Our travellers were not more gullible than their learned contemporaries. Sometimes they rightly refused to accept doubtful statements at their face value. Careri for instance did not believe that the cupolas at Kanheri were tombs of deceased persons, for hewn out of solid rock they could not possibly have any hollow chamber inside. But they lived and worked in an age by no means oversceptical and could not always rise above the easy credulity that characterised it. Careri unhesitatingly repeated the story of Nuno da Cunha "encountering the city *Diu*, in the year 1635, found an old Man of 335 years of Age, who had a Son of 90. He had chang'd his Teeth three times, and his Beard as often grew Grey, after having been Black."¹³ No less astounding is the "apish miracle" though Sir Thomas Roe had not the least suspicion about its authenticity.¹⁴ "A juggler of Bengala (of which craft there are many and rare) brought to the King a great ape, that could, as hee professd, divine and prophesy (and to this beast by some sects is much divinitie ascribed). The King tooke from his finger a ring, and caused it to bee hid under the girdle of one among a dozen other boys, and bad the ape divine; who went to the right child, and tooke it out. But His Majestie (somewhat more curious) caused in twelve several papers in Persian letters to bee written the names

12. Humboldt quoted in *Biographie Universelle*, Vol. 17, p. 53.

13. Careri, Book III, Chap. V, p. 192.

14. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 280.

of twelve lawgivers, as Moses, Christ, Mahomett, Aly, and others, and, shuffling them in a bagg, bad the beast divine which was the true law ; who, putting in his foote, tooke out that inscribed the Christ. This amazed the King, who, suspecting that the apes master could reade Persian, and might assist him, wrote them anew in court characters, and presented them the second tyme. The ape was constant, found the right, and kissed it. Wherat a principal officer grew angry, telling the King it was some imposture, desiering hee might have leave to make the lotts anew, and offered him selfe to punishment if the ape could beguile him. Hee wrote the names, putting only eleven into the bagg, and kept the other in his hand. The beast searchd, but refusd all. The King commanded to bring one ; the beast tore them in fury, and made signes of the true lawgivers name was not among them. The King demanded wher it was ; and hee rann to the nobleman and caught him by the hand in which was the paper inscribed with the name of Christ Jesus. The King was troubled, and keepes the ape." Roe affirms that the miracle of the Christian ape was witnessed by thousands of spectators. Nor was this attitude limited to spheres spiritual. Necromancy being a recognised art(?), Thomas Coryat had no difficulty in believing a story about Akbar's sorcery, "who beeing once in a strange humour, to shew a spectacle to his nobles, brought forth his chieftest queene, with a sword cut off her head, and after the same, perceiving the heavinesse and sorrow of them for the death of her (as they thought), caused the head by vertue of his exorcisms, to be set on againe, no signe appearing of any stroke with his sword."¹⁵ This is not indeed a contemporary account of Akbar's proficiency in the black magic but between the emperor's death and Coryat's arrival in India there was hardly a decade's interval. Mandelslo did not believe in the existence of two-headed snakes except as a freak¹⁶ but William Finch writes of "bucklers and divers sorts of drinking cups" made of "Indian asse-horne."¹⁷

V

It is no wonder that the seventeenth century travellers should be inadequately informed about the geography of India. They did not know the country as a whole and in most cases their stay was all too brief. The knowledge of the Greek authors, which many of them could not claim, was of little use. Herbert quotes Strabo, Pliny, Curtius and Herodotus but he puts the southern limit of Alexander's advance at Daman¹⁸ and identifies Surat with Muziris.¹⁹ Thevenot's reference to *murdakhors* or the anthropophagi is also to be attributed to his classical studies. He probably relied on Herodotus who mentions an Indian tribe that lived

15. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, pp. 276-277.

16. Mandelslo, p. 27.

17. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 176. Foster suggests that the Indian Rhinoceros is meant.

18. *Some Yeares Travels*, p. 41.

19. *Ibid*, p. 43.

on raw flesh and practised cannibalism.²⁰ Yet some of them, like Herbert, interrupted their narrative and paused to give an account of the country, its people and their history. When they set to write of the entire sub-continent they had naturally to rely on the available literature on the subject. But unfortunately the earlier writers were not better informed and they had in their time blindly drawn upon their predecessors. Thus wrong information passed from traveller to traveller and gained wider currency and greater credence as uncritical acceptance was apt to be misconstrued as independent corroboration. A few travellers more enterprising than the rest like Tavernier, Bernier and Manucci spent long years in India and had first hand knowledge of many of the provinces. The employees of the English, French and the Dutch East India Companies like Hedges, Methwold, Paelser and Martin had wide experience of persons and places in their own particular spheres. But none of them had the industry, scholarship or critical acumen that marked the eleventh century Muslim mathematician Abu Rihan Alberuni and their credulity and carelessness often landed them in serious blunders. These were accepted as authentic facts by unwary writers and were repeated by them sometimes without any reference to the original sources. Nor were all the late comers content with a faithful recital of their predecessors' tales and they often essayed to embellish them with additional details. Hawkins despite his intimate association with Jahangir did not know that the Mughal empire had more than five sub-divisions²¹ but fortunately his account went unnoticed by many of the more popular later travellers. Herbert writing of the same reign extends the north-western boundary of the empire "to the *Caucasus* and the *Maurenahar*, *Tartar* and *Persian*" and asserts that India had "thirty eight large Provinces (petty kingdoms of old)."²² Peter Mundy had Baffin's map before him and excluded the Deccan from India.²³ But there was a remarkable agreement among Roe, Terry, De Laet and Mandelslo²⁴ as to the number of provinces into which the empire was divided in their days. They all affirm that the provinces numbered thirty-seven but on important details vital divergence of opinion is noticed. The chaplain very likely made better use of his leisure than His Excellency

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20. Rawlinson, *The History of Herodotus*, Vol. II (1858), pp. 489-490. Elphinstone heard from some travelling merchants that 'one Afghan tribe (the Vizeerees) were savages and ate human flesh'. *Kingdom of Caubul*, Vol. I, p. 45.
 21. Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 100. They are, the Punjab, Bengal, Malwa, the Deccan and Gujarat.
 22. p. 58.
 23. *Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II, p. 305.
 24. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, pp. 490-496; Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 291-295; Hoyland and Banerjee, *De Laet's Empire of the Great Mogol*, pp. 5-14; Mandelslo, pp. 14-16. Terry mentions the following thirty-seven provinces : (1) Candahar, (2) Cabul, (3) Multan, (4) Hajacan, (5) Buckor, (6) Tatta, (7) Soret, (8) Jesolmeere, (9) Attack, (10) Penjab, (11) Chishmere, (12) Banchish, (13) Jengapor, (14) Jenba, (15) Delli, (16) Bando, (17) Malway, (18) Chitor, (19) Guzarat, (20) Chandis, (21) Berar, (22) Narvar, (23) Gwalior, (24) Agra, (25) Sanbal, (26) Baker, (27) Nagracutt, (28) Syba, (29) Kakares, (30) Gor, (31) Pitan, (32) Kanduan, (33) Patna, (34) Jesual, (35) Meuat, (36) Udessa, (37) Bengala.

the Ambassador in testing the information that possibly came from a common source. Between Roe's and Terry's lists there is but one discrepancy and that a very minor one. "Jeselmeeere" No. 8 in Terry's list found no place in Roe's, while Roch, Roe's No. 27 is omitted by Terry. De Laet did not come to India at all. His account of *The Empire of the Great Mogol* is professedly a compilation and his list agrees with Terry except for greater details. As De Laet's work on the Moghul empire was published in 1631 Mandelslo made free use of it only with one variation in the list of provinces, Narwar, No. 28 of De Laet being Mandelslo's 26. Otherwise the two lists agree not only in sequence but in all the main details. But Mandelslo was less careful in checking his facts and rashly committed himself to statements the more cautious Dutch geographer warily avoided. Two instances will suffice to illustrate the point. De Laet writes of Kashmir "The capital of this province is called Siranakar. The province lies upon both sides of the river Behat or Phat which winds in a meandering course with many islands, and finally falls into the Indus, or as others declare into the Ganges though this latter appears to me less probable. The province is mountainous (it marches with Kabul) and rather cold, though less so than the kingdom of Thebet which adjoins it on the east. At a distance of 8 leucæ from the capital lies a large lake 5 leucæ in circumference, in the middle of which is an island upon which a royal palace has been built for the convenience of those hunting wild geese; these birds abound in the lake in vast numbers. Near to the river which flows through the middle of this lake towards the west, enormous trees are to be seen, whose leaves are somewhat similar to those of the chestnut, though their wood is different. When it is cut into planks, this wood presents the appearance of waves, and is very well suited for the making of boxes."²⁵ Terry's note being the earlier is more precise and brief—"the chiefe citie is called Siranakar. The river Phat passeth through it, and so, creeping about many ilands, slides to Indus."²⁶ Roe agrees that "The Cheefe city is called Sirinakar" but he makes the Jhelum a tributary of the Ganges. "The river of Bhat passeth thorough it and findeth the sea by Ganges or, some say, of itself in the north part of the Bay of Bengala."²⁷ Mandelslo closely copies De Laet but without his circumspection commits the same error as Roe. His note on Kashmir is as follows: "The Province of *Chismer*, or *Quexmer*, the chief City whereof is called *Syranakar*, is seated upon the River of *Bezai* or *Badt* which makes a great number of Isles in their Province, and after a great compass falls into the *Ganges*. It touches some part of the Province of *Kabul*, and is cold enough by reason of its Mountains, though it may be affirm'd, that in comparison of the kingdom of *Tiebet*, which is as it were its Frontiers on the East side, it is very temperate. About eight *Cos* (which make four Leagues) from the chief City, in the midst of a Lake which is three miles about, there is a little Isle, where the *Mogul* hath built a very fair House, for the convenience of hunting the wild Goose. All along the River which

25. Hoyland and Banerjee, *De Laet's Empire of the Great Mogol*, pp. 7-8.

26. Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 292.

27. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 491.

runs through the middle of this Lake, there is a kind of a tree, whose leaves are like that of Chestnut, but the wood which is somewhat of a brownish colour, is chequer'd with small streaks of several colours, which makes it much sought after by persons of Quality."²⁸ De Laet had the scholarly integrity and decency of frankly owning his indebtedness to Terry. He does not deny his knowledge of Roe's Journal, on the contrary he compares the two lists and makes a pointed reference to their general agreement. Mandelslo relied solely on De Laet but he had not the fairness of acknowledging his obligations to the Dutch scholar. He made such omissions and alterations in the plagiarized note as would give it a semblance of originality but in doing so he committed an egregious factual mistake which the more cautious scholar had avoided. This is not the sole instance of Mandelslo's incompetent pilfering. In a note that he appended to his list of the thirty seven provinces De Laet observed: "Peter Texeira, in his account of the kingdom of Persia, enumerates several provinces of India, but not nearly so many as I have just mentioned. He speaks of the province of Utrad on the Jaxartes with a capital of the same name, but does not say where it is situated. He also writes that the kingdom of Cache produces most excellent horses. These are called Cachy after that kingdom which seem to be situated to the north of Cambay."²⁹ With the circumspection characteristic of a true scholar De Laet refrains from making any comment on Teixeira's statement and leaves it to his readers to take it for what it is worth. Not so the traveller. He had been to Cambay and felt himself competent to hazard a guess about the neighbouring regions, and here is the result: "*Texeira*, in his description of *Persia*, speaking of certain Provinces of the *Indies*, names that of *Utrat*, with its chief City, but he only names it, without giving any account of its situation. He speaks also of the kingdom of *Caeche*, and says it is considerable for the Race-horses it breeds, near *Cambaya*, towards the North: but certainly, it is no other than the Province of *Candisch*, before spoken of."³⁰ Teixeira was right in saying that Cutch was noted for its horses and lay to the north of Cambay though the peninsula of Kathiawad intervened between the island of Cutch and the Gulf of Cambay but Khandesh was nowhere near it and certainly could not boast of a special breed of race-horses. To confuse Cutch with Khandesh is to betray the grossest possible ignorance about Indian provinces. It is unnecessary to labour this point further. All that is needed is to remember that even a contemporary account cannot be more reliable than its sources and neither Thevenot nor Careri was more conscientious or less confident than Mandelslo. The average European traveller had no scruple about plagiarism and it was practised without any compunction throughout the century. Of course journals kept by resident merchants fall under a different category and are not to be confused with travellers' accounts.

It will be unfair to suggest that no seventeenth century traveller ever questioned the accuracy of current heresies, historical and geographical.

28. Mandelslo, p. 14.

29. Hoyland and Banerjee, *De Laet's Empire of the Great Mogol*, p. 15.

30. Mandelslo, p. 16.

In his letter to Lord Carew dated January 17, 1615(16) Sir Thomas Roe drew his lordship's attention to certain errors in the maps of India.³¹ "I have one observation more to make of the falseness of our maps, both of Mercator and all others, and their ignorance in this countrey. First, the famous River Indus doeth not emptie himselfe into the sea at Cambaya as his chiefe mouth but at Sinde. My reason is: Lahor stands upon Indus, from whence to Sinde it is navigable, to Cambaya not so. Lahor in the maps is also falsely set downe, it lying north from Surat about a thousand miles." Roe was both right and wrong, for the Indus flows into the sea through the province of Sind but Lahore is on the banks of one of its principal tributaries and not on the Indus itself. William Finch was better informed and correctly stated that "The Castle (of Lahore) is seated on Ravee, a goodly river which falleth into Indus, downe which go many boats of sixty tunne or upwards, for Tatta in Sind after the fall of the raine, being a journey of some fortie days alongst by Multan, Seetpore, Buchur, Rauree³² etc." Finch had been to Lahore himself but Roe wrote from Ajmer. Finch also knew that "Indus passeth in great beautie" by "Attock, a citie with a strong castle."³³ Coryat crossed the Indus on his way to Lahore and knew that the river had its source somewhere outside India.³⁴ Pietro della Valle added further to the extant knowledge and pointed out that "the River which disembogues in the inmost part of this Gulph (Cambay) is not *Indus*, but this *Mehi*, which I speak of, a River of handsome but ordinary greatness, and which hath not the least correspondence with Indus."³⁵ Thevenot also crossed the Mahi but was not apparently worried by these topographical errors. In his account of Kashmir he confuses the Chenab with the Jhelum and makes it flow into the Indus at Attock and confidently warns others not to mistake it for the Moselle which flows through Kabulistan and should be identified with Behat, which again is the Muslim name for the Jhelum. The source of Thevenot's error is not difficult to trace. His own personal knowledge was limited to the tract between Surat and Cambay and the road from Surat to Masulipatam. For information about other regions he usually turned to two of his countrymen Tavernier and Bernier, while he specifically mentions Bernier as one of his authorities more than once, Thevenot does not extend the same courtesy to Tavernier. Bernier does not mention the name of the river that flows by Srinagar but correctly indicates its course. "It winds gently around the kingdom, and passing through the capital, bends its peaceful course towards *Baramoule*, where it finds an outlet between two steep rocks, being then joined by several smaller rivers from the mountains, and dashing over precipices it flows in the direction of Atek, and joins the *Indus*."³⁶ Earlier while describing the journey to Kashmir Bernier had written, "Some will pitch their tents on the banks of the *Tchenau*, others

31. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 91 and also p. 104.

32. Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 161.

33. *Ibid*, p. 168.

34. *Ibid*, p. 243.

35. Pietro della Valle, *Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 64.

36. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, pp. 396-97.



will repair to the adjacent towns and villages, and the rest will be under the necessity of encamping in this burning *Bember*." Thevenot, in his anxiety to improve upon Bernier supplied the name of the river that flowed by Srinagar and Baramula and tried to indicate more definitely where it met the Indus, not pausing to think that if Berneir was not so precise in his statement he might have good reasons for remaining vague.

Bernier names twenty provinces into which Aurangzeb's empire was divided.³⁷ These were Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Hasmer (Ajmer), Gusaratte, Candahar, Maloua, Patna or Beara, Elabas (Allahabad), Haoud (Oudh), Moultan, Jagannat in which is included Bengale, Kachemire, Caboul, Tata, Aurengabad formerly Dauletabad, Varada (Berar), Candays, Talengand (Telengana) and Baganala (Baglan). It would have been wise of Thevenot faithfully to follow a guide generally so reliable, but evidently he was familiar with the works of the earlier writers who mentioned no less than thirty-seven provinces. Thevenot made confusion worse confounded in his attempt to reconcile the earlier lists with the later. Roe was included in his uncle's *Relations of diverse curious voyages* and Roe claimed to have derived his information from a state paper preserved in the library of the Imperial Moghul. He was supported by Terry and Mandelslo and the discrepancy between the old list and the new might have caused no little bewilderment to the new enquirer. He arranged his chapters according to Bernier's list and then tried to locate the missing provinces in some of the new subahs, possibly with the help of Baffin's map, an easy solution, no doubt, but liable to serious inaccuracies in the absence of precise knowledge. He naturally started with the province of Gujarat as Surat, where he landed, and Ahmadabad and Cambay, cities he visited immediately after his arrival in India, were all within that province. He next described the province and town of Agra no doubt because it was the metropolis of the empire. Dehly or Gehanabad, Azmer, Sinde (Tatta of Bernier's list), Multan, Candahar, Caboul, Cashmir, Lahors, Ayoud with which he added Varad, Halabas, Becar, Oulesser (Orissa) or Bengala, Malava, Candich, Balagate (Bernier's Aurangabad), Dolatabad, of which Thevenot makes a separate province, Telenga and Baglana completed the list. Thus the tally of a score remained unaffected though Varad was joined with Oudh to make room for Daulatabad and a new province, Becar, was substituted for Bihar. In the joint province of Oudh and Varad which however were not geographically contiguous Thevenot placed some of the northern provinces of the Moghul empire mentioned by De Laet on the authority of Terry and Roe, and by Mandelslo on the authority of De Laet—Caucares, Bankich, Nagarcut, Siba, Gor, Pitan, Canduana and some others. In the mysterious province of Becar were included Douab, Jesuat and Udesse. Three more provinces, Gualear, Chitor and Mando were located in Malava. Thus thirteen out of the seventeen remaining provinces were accounted for but this created an insuperable difficulty for the modern student. He is called upon to solve the jigsaw puzzle of the composite provinces of Ayoudh, Varad and Becar.

37. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p. 391.

38. *Ibid*, pp. 456-458.

It should be noted that even with this ingenious makeshift, Thevenot failed to provide for all the additional provinces of Roe and Terry as a cursory comparison will show. To add to our difficulty Thevenot's Becar cannot be safely identified with Bakar of the earlier writers on the ground of similarity or with Bernier's Beara or Bihar which a process of elimination would indicate. According to Thevenot, "The province of *Becar*, which comprehends the Countries of *Douab*, *Jesuat* and *Udesse*, is also watered by the Rivers that discharge themselves into the *Ganges*. It lies not only to the East of *Dehly*, but is also the most Eastern Province of *Mogolistan*, by the countrey of *Udesse*, which shuts it in with its Mountains. And that great Province being rich, by reason of the fertility thereof, yields to the *Great Mogul* Yearly above fourteen Millions. It contins several good Towns; but the best are *Sumbal*, *Menapour*, *Rageapour*, *Jehanac* and above all *Becaner*, which at present is the Capital, standing to the West of the *Ganges*." Terry says of Bakar "the chiefe citie called Bikaner. It lyeth on the west side of *Ganges*."³⁹ Roe affirms that "The cheefe citty is called Bikanir. It bordereth north-west on *Ganges*."⁴⁰ There is therefore no difference between Terry and Roe, if Bikaner is not in the near neighbourhood of the *Ganges* it is certainly to the west of that river. But Thevenot placed the province to the east of Delhi and still maintained that Bikaner was its capital at the time he wrote. Of the other cities in this mysterious province Sambal is the chief town of a province of the same name, according to Roe (his No. 19) and Terry (No. 25). Rageapour (Roe's Ragepur) is the capital of Jesual (Thevenot's Jesuat and Nos. 16 and 34 of Roe and Terry respectively) and Terry places it east of Patna. Neither Roe nor Terry is a safe guide for they make two separate provinces of Gor (Gaur) and Bengala and commit other mistakes, but Thevenot's confusion was probably due to too much reliance on Baffin's map. Baffin places Udessa, with its capital Jekanat to the north east of Bengala. To its immediate west he places Mevat, and next to that province Jesuoll and Sanball. Baffin's Bakar is to the north of Sanball and north east of Delhi. No province of the Moghul days even approximately corresponded to this geographical fiction. But as Thevenot went mainly by Bernier's list he probably made an ineffective attempt to reconcile Baffin and Bernier, for Baffin's Udessa is the easternmost province of India, by including Sambal, Bikaner (located east of Delhi by Baffin) Rajapur and Udessa in Bernier's province of Patna or Beara (modern Bihar).

Nor is it possible to identify Thevenot's Varad or Varal with Bernier's Varada (Berar). It is like Becar another fictitious province that comprised the north-eastern region of Baffin's map "to wit *Gor*, *Pitan*, *Candwana* and some others." But why Thevenot placed Nagarcut (Nagarkot) and Calamac (Jwalamukhi) in the province of Ayoudh and Nerval (Narwar) and Gehud (Gohad) in the province of Halabas (Allahabad) is more than what we can guess.⁴¹

39. Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 294.

40. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 493.

41 Curiously enough with all the guides and popular handbooks at their disposal even modern travellers are not always free from geographical confusion. Ibanez,

Bernier's scheme, limited, as it was, to an inventory of the provinces with their Sarkars and Parganas and the estimated revenue, was too modest for Thevenot. He tried to embody in his account of the provinces all information that he could gather about the curiosities of the region, the habit of the people, the agricultural and industrial products as well as plants and animals. But in spite of his best efforts this ambitious plan suffered from serious inaccuracies. Not knowing that the musk deer was not an animal of the plains he extends its habitat to the province of Azmer (Ajmer) and confidently states: "There is in these countries, a Beast like a Fox, in the Snout, which is no bigger than a Hare; the Hair of it, is of the colour of a Stags, and the Teeth like to a Dogs. It yields most excellent Musk." The musk deer has it is true two protruding canine teeth but it is a denizen of the Himalayan regions and not to be found anywhere near Ajmer. Careri knew that the musk deer or, as he called it the musk goat, occurred in Bhutan and in regions bordering on China, but not knowing all the facts he could not dismiss Thevenot's statement as utterly unfounded and unhesitatingly copied it almost word for word. Roe mentions musk among other costly articles to be found at Ajmer⁴² and Thevenot might have been under the impression that the musk yielding animal also lived in the neighbourhood. Thevenot and Careri at least knew that the musk came from a "Bladder full of corrupt Blood, and that Blood maketh the Musk or is rather the Musk itself," but Francois Pyrard gives the most queer account of the animal and the process of extracting the scent. "Musk," he asserts, comes from China alone. It proceeds from a little animal of the size of a cat. To get musk they kill this animal and beat it all over in its skin and so let it rot; when rotten they make little purses of the skin, and fill them with the flesh, minced small, and thus sell it."⁴³ This information probably originated with a Jesuit writer Michael Boyen who makes a similar statement in his *La Flore Chinoise*.⁴⁴

One of Thevenot's very curious mistakes can be traced to Tavernier. Writing of the province and town of Agra, Thevenot asserts that the emperor Jehangir "was Interred in a Garden" of Agra "where his Tomb is only painted upon the portal." How Tavernier came to commit so astounding an error we cannot explain, but had not Thevenot inadvertently appropriated some of his worst mistakes the younger traveller's indebtedness to the older would not only have remained unacknowledged but also unestablished.

Careri came to India nearly thirty years after Thevenot but unlike his French predecessor he did not undertake an ambitious survey of the Moghul empire. He furnishes graphic descriptions of cities and camps he visited himself and his minute account of the churches and convents of Goa is accurate in every detail. Two earlier travellers Francois Pyrard of Laval and Pietro della Valle might have served as excellent guides but

the Spanish Nobel Laureate, places Colombo on the east coast of Ceylon and the late Lord Lytton after five years in India located Puri in Bihar.

42. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 116.

43. *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, Vol. II, part II, p. 359.

44. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 24.

Careri knew his Goa well and not only described the city and its monuments but its flowering plants and fruit trees as well. Not that he does not refer to towns and regions he did not visit but such references are neither numerous nor important. Like Thevenot he also depended on hearsay particularly for the history of the ruling dynasties and the civil administration of the country and naturally his account is not free from occasional errors. But on one important subject that may not be entirely without any interest to the Indian students Thevenot and Careri squarely contradicted each other. Neither of them had any personal knowledge of the notorious Sanganian pirates. Thevenot had not even had a distant glimpse of their sails. Careri suspected that he had. But while Thevenot gave them the worst possible character Careri credited them with a more humane behaviour. Writes Thevenot: "they Board and leap into the Bark, putting every living soul to the Sword (for they have no other Arms but Swords and Arrows:) and if any have a mind to save their lives, there is no other way to it, but to jump into the Sea, and so avoid their fury until they be wholly Masters of the Vessel, for till then, they give no Quarter: but when they find themselves sure of their Prize, they shed no more blood, and make Prisoners of all that remain alive; to hinder whose escaping, they cut the great Tendon that is above the Heel in each Leg, which renders them for ever unable to run away, and indeed it is not possible for a Man who has these Nerves cut, to go. Then they carry them to their Habitations, and set them to keep their flocks, without any hopes whilst they live of being delivered from that Bondage which is worse than death itself."⁴⁵ Careri on the contrary contends that these pirates did not make slave of the people they robbed. "The Pirates call'd *Sanganos* and *Ranas*, who are Gentils of Religion, and make no Slaves, but take what they find Aboard without hurting any Body. They live in some Islands, and on the Continent in marshy and inaccessible Places as also in Woods near *Syndi* and the kingdom of *Guzaratte*."⁴⁶ We do not know which of the two travellers was more correctly informed but in the absence of corroboration from more dependable sources it is not safe to accept one version in preference to the other.

VI

If our travellers were indifferent geographers they were no better naturalists. Duarte Barbosa mentions flying serpents of the kingdom of Narsyngua (Vijayanagar) in all seriousness. "There are as well serpents which fly in the air, whereof the mere breath and aspect are so deadly as to stay any man who comes near them, which serpents alight on trees or wheresoever they will."⁴⁷ Mandelslo believed that the crocodile of the Indian rivers had "no *Vertebre* or *joynts* either in his neck or back."⁴⁸ The flying foxes or fruit bats of India were noticed by most of the

45. *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot*, Part II, Book IV, Chap. II, p. 176.

46. Careri, *A Voyage round the World*, Book III, Chap. V, p. 190.

47. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. I, p. 199.

48. Mandelslo, p. 27.

travellers; Linschoten and Fryer⁴⁹ referred to the enormous size they attain, Mandelslo and Pietro della Valle⁵⁰ found "batts as big as crows", Francois Pyrard de Laval used slightly different language and wrote that "bats there are as large as ravens."⁵¹ But Finch had strange ideas about this common but curious mammal's method of reproduction. "This fowle" he writes, "the people say ingendreth in the eare."⁵² Tom Coryat claimed to have seen two unicorns, mistaking rhinoceros for the mythical beast.⁵³ Roe was not less credulous. He offered to sell in all seriousness "a unicorn's horne" to an imperial prince.⁵⁴

Not only were they prepared to believe whatever they were told about unfamiliar birds and beasts but many of them could not properly describe even domesticated animals they had seen at close quarters. It is not at all difficult to describe the peculiar features of an elephant but Nicholas Downton's account can certainly be improved upon. "(He) hath a body like a house, but a tayle like a ratte, erecting it like a cedar; little eyes, but great sight; very melancholly, but wise (they say) and full of understanding (or subtilty rather) for a beast. Sometimes they become madd (of what I know not) and breaking loose endanger multitudes. (He) is fed somewhat costly, as with good bread, musk millions, sugarcanes, sweete stalkes, and sower grasse or sedge of the worst. (He) steeres like a hulke, stif-necked, almost all of one peice; feeds himselfe with his trunck or snoute (that deadly instrument for his rage) being of a just length to the ground; taking his meat with the end thereof and winding it up (or under, rather) to his mouth, so eates it; but drinckes there with at length."⁵⁵ Though Downton takes the trouble of describing in details how the elephant eats and drinks and moves it is not easy to visualise the animal with "a body like a house and a tail like the rat's that moves like a hulk and eats and drinks with its snout." Terry's description of the second biggest Indian animal, the rhinoceros is not more helpful. The "Rhynocerts" "are large beasts as bigge as the fayrest oxen England affords; their skins lye platted or as it were in wrinkles upon their backs"⁵⁶ is all that we are told. Peter Mundy's account though equally brief is more life-like. He writes of the "Ghendas, whose skinne is very thick and hard, lyeinge in plates over his bodye, with one horne standinge on his nose, as high as a tall horse, but made in proportion like a hogge."⁵⁷ Better still is Linschoten's⁵⁸ pen picture but neither of them had actually seen the animal and the credit of accurately describing the pachyderm belongs not to the travellers but to their informants. Thevenot's descrip-

49. *Voyage of Linschoten to the East Indies*, Vol. I, p. 302.

Fryer's *East India and Persia*, Vol. II, p. 99.

50. Mandelslo, p. 27; *Travels of Pietro della Valle in India*, Vol. I, p. 103.

51. *Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, Vol. I, p. 115.

52. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 135.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 246.

54. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 254.

55. *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton*, p. 145.

56. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 304.

57. *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II, p. 171.

58. *Voyage of Linschoten to the East Indies*, Vol. II, Chap. 47, pp. 8-11.

tion of a tame bat however leaves no doubt that he could give an accurate account of a strange animal in minute details when carefully observed.

Both Thevenot and Careri were also careless about the nomenclature of the animals they saw. They write indiscriminately of apes, baboons and monkeys. In India there is only one ape or man-like monkey, the gibbon or hoolock, and that does not occur in the parts they visited. Of baboons, dogheaded monkeys, there is none in this country. Among the wild beasts that infested the forest near Kanheri Careri mentions tigers and lions. There is no doubt that tigers haunted the neighbourhood of the caves when the Neapolitan traveller visited India and even much later but whether lions survived in the woodlands south of the Narbada in the closing years of the seventeenth century must remain a subject of enquiry. Careri took careful notes of the ancient monuments he saw. His account of the rock-hewn caves and the colleges, convents and cathedrals of Goa leaves little to be desired but his description of the birds he saw as he rode through the lonely forest on his way to Kanheri is extremely vague. Having no guide with him he naturally left them unnamed and only says "some were Green and as big as a Thrush, and sang very well, others bigger, black as velvet, and with vast long Tails; others Red and Green; some Black and Green, as big as a Turtle-dove, and many more never seen in Europe." One may guess the identity of the bird with a long tail and velvety black feathers. Careri in all probability saw the ubiquitous king crow but the forest to-day is not very rich in bird life and it is not safe to hazard a guess about the green songster and his red and green and black and green confrères. Probably the latter two were paraqueets and Careri having only a fleeting glimpse of them could not describe them better.

Thevenot devotes one chapter each to the beasts at Delhi and the beasts of the country of Ajmer but he describes only four animals in any detail, the horse, the elephant, the ox and the musk deer. Of these the musk deer alone is wild and uncommon and as we have already noted it has been given a habitat other than its own. The elephant naturally attracted the curiosity of foreign visitors and most of them had something to say about it. Much was not known about the period of gestation or the longevity of this huge beast and it is no wonder that Thevenot and others imagined that its method of mating was different from that of other quadrupeds. Nor was Thevenot alone in attributing rare physiological and psychological peculiarities to the elephant. Peter Mundy believed that "the females (different from other animals) in their place of generation which lyes right under their bellies where the Cowe's adders are placed, and the duggs of these are close to the fore legs."⁵⁹ Francois Pyrard ascribes to it almost a human abhorrence of indecency when he asserts that "the animal never covers the female in whatever heat he be, while any one is by."⁶⁰ Terry goes one better and says that "The males testicles lye about his forehead; the females teates are betwixt her forelegges,"⁶¹ though he

59. *Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II, p. 234.

60. *Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 346.

61. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 307.

claims to have seen several of them.⁶² Mundy and Terry were right as to the position of the teats, as for the rest their statement should be taken with more than the proverbial pinch of salt. The story of an elephant run amuck that had the good sense to gently put aside a helpless baby out of gratitude to its mother, which Terry heard from "an English merchant of good credit" was recounted in every detail by Linschoten.⁶³ No less fanciful is Tavernier's assertion that "at certain seasons the female elephant collects all kinds of leaves and grass, with which she makes for herself a bed with a kind of bolster, elevated 4 or 5 feet from the ground, where contrary to the nature of all other beasts, she lies to await the male."⁶⁴ Careri closely follows Thevenot in his account of the elephant but there is good reason to believe that he did not know all the animals he mentions. He seems to think that the Roz and the Meru are the same animal. "Rozes" he writes, "with the Body like a Cow, so call'd from a Rose they have on the Breast ; the Male of this Species is call'd Meru, and has Horns half a span long, and the Body and Tail like a Horse." The Sambhar is called Meru in the Bombay presidency and the Roz is the same animal as the Nilgau. While the former is a deer the latter is an antelope. There is no difference in the general build of the male and female nilgau though they differ in colour and the English rose has nothing to do with one of its names. Its tail no more resembles that of the horse than the elephant's is like the rat's. Curiously enough Peter Mundy mentions at one place the Roz and Nilgau as two different animals⁶⁵ although earlier he had noted that they were but different names of the same antelope. Such instances of carelessness are however not rare among seventeenth century travellers.

Careri gave one whole chapter to the "fruit and flowers of Indostan". His account of the common plants of India suffers from the same defects as his description of the animals. The most noticed plants were the cocoa palm, the toddy palm, the areca palm, the betel vine and the pepper vine and here Careri had excellent guides in earlier writers. It is not clear whether he knew Linschoten's *Voyage to the East Indies* where the Indian plants are described in great details with rare scientific accuracy nor does it appear that he had access to the first scientific treatise on medicinal plants and herbs published at Goa by Garcia da Orta more than a century earlier⁶⁶ though Pietro della Valle refers to Orta and other botanists of repute.⁶⁷ It is however difficult to identify some of the plants of Careri's list without extraneous information. The omlam tree for instance bears according to him "a long Flower beautiful and fragrant enough." The flower is beautiful and fragrant no doubt but by no stretch of imagination can it be described as long. Similarly the tindolim flower is white and not red. Nor does one get a clear idea of papayas growing round the trunk of the tree near the top when Careri says that "they hang like clusters of Grapes about the

62. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 304.

63. *Voyage of Linschoten to the East Indies*, Vol. II, pp. 6-7.

64. Tavernier's *Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 222.

65. *Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II, pp. 182 and 307.

66. *Coloquios dos Simples e drogas e cousas medicinais da India*, Goa, 1563.

67. *Travels of Pietro della Valle*, Vol. I, p. 37.

top of the Trunk." Careri's identification of the saffron plant with the Arbore Triste of Goa is as fantastic as Thevenot's association of the musk deer with Ajmer. His grounds for appending his chapter on Indian plants to his account of Goa deserves more than a passing notice. "Because all those sorts, which are found in the several Parts of that Tract, being to be had about Goa, and even some that are not elsewhere ; it is proper we should give an account of them before we leave that city." This is corroborated by Peter Mundy when he said that "I saw here Sundry sorts off Fruites which I had not seene in North India, butt For any thatt grew there, they Might here bee Found."⁶⁸ Careri could not possibly have any knowledge of Peter Mundy's manuscript which was not published until recently.

VII

Travellers do not always bring an unprejudiced mind to a foreign land. People apt to ignore the inconsistencies of their own faith may be keenly alive to the absurdities of others. Familiarity does not always breed contempt ; it often engenders tolerance as well. Unfamiliarity on the other hand may sometimes lead to misunderstanding. Unfortunately there is no infallible standard of social conduct and a foreigner may without fully comprehending its inner significance ridicule a long established custom which the native finds perfectly innocuous. It is no wonder that most of the foreign travellers were superficial if not perfunctory in their observation on the social customs and religious practices of India. Only the most striking features could have attracted their notice during their brief sojourn and they had neither the time nor the learning to examine them carefully. But it will be unfair to suggest that all of them approached the subject with superciliousness and contempt. François Pyard in fact paid the Indians he knew a very high compliment when he said "I have never seen men of wit so fine and polished as are these Indians: they have nothing barbarous or savage about them, as we are apt to suppose. They are unwilling indeed to adopt the manners and customs of the Portuguese ; yet do they readily learn their manufactures and workmanship, being all very curious and desirous of learning. In fact the Portuguese take and learn more from them than they from the Portuguese ; and they that come fresh to Goa are very simpletons till they have acquired the airs and grace of the Indies."⁶⁹ How far these encomiums were inspired by genuine admiration for South Indians and to what extent they reflected the bitterness caused by Pyard's sufferings at the hands of the Portuguese it is difficult to determine at this distance of time. But when he spoke highly of the manners and customs of Bengal where the people, both men and women were according to him, "more cultivated than elsewhere" we should not attach much importance to his testimony as he had not been to that province and had no personal knowledge of its people.

68. *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 59

69. *Voyage of Francois Pyard of Laval*, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 248-249.

The better educated travellers, among whom Thevenot and Careri should be counted, usually took the trouble of reading the earlier writers. This had its advantage and corresponding disadvantage as well, for if they were not absolutely uninformed about India and Indians their views were likely to be influenced by the author of their choice and they could not under the circumstances take an objective view of things. Students of classical literature on the other hand were often prepared to find parallels between Hindu and Greek ideas and strove to discover evidence of Greek influence on Hindu thought and rites without pausing to find out which was earlier. Good Christians were naturally unwilling to recognise anything commendable in other religions but it will be unfair to accuse the ecclesiastics of blind fanaticism. Terry for instance had nothing but praise for those Muslim divines who "spend their dayes in meditation or else in giving good morall precepts unto others."⁷⁰ He further commended to his brothers in faith the example of those who, "what impediment soever they have either by pleasure or profit, pray five times everyday."⁷¹ He had also great admiration for those "Mahometans and Gentiles" who "will rather die (like the mother and her seven sonnes: 2 Mac. 7) then eate or drinke anything their law forbids. Such meate and drinke as their law allowes they use onely to satisfie nature, not appetite; hating gluttonie, and esteeming drunkennesse (as indeed it is) a second madnessse, and therefore have but one word in their language (*mest*) for a drunkard and a mad man."⁷² But every one had not Terry's broad-mindedness to appreciate the good points in misguided heathens. Downton had no doubt that the filthy fakirs were "really possesst with devils."⁷³ Herbert thought that the "*Shaster of the Bannyans* is a depraved story of the Bible" and in their customs and religious rites he perceived the "delusion Satan charms them with."⁷⁴ Roe found "no civil arts" at Ajmer "but such as straggling Christians have lately taught."⁷⁵ The customs and manners of the country were, according to him, "either ordinary, or mingled with much barbarisme." "The Gentile, not knoweing any religion" "worshipped after their severall idolatryes all sorts of creatures." "No herecye in the world show so strange examples, nor bragg of such voluntarie poverteyes, punishments, sufferings and chastisements" as Islam. The race of Muhammad, Roe unhesitatingly asserted, was "imposturous."⁷⁶ But in comparison with one of his protégés Roe appears exceedingly mild and moderate. Coryat's Christian zeal could not brook even the Muslim call to prayer in the Muslim metropolis and he boldly climbed up a turret and loudly sent forth a defiant cry—"No God but one God and Christ the son of God" thus contradicting the Muezzin's proclamation that Muhammad was the prophet of God.⁷⁷ Nothing could conceivably outdo his denun-

70. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 316.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 317.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 317.

73. *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton*, p. 137.

74. Herbert, *Some Years Travels*, p. 49.

75. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 116.

76. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, pp. 104, 274 and 612.

77. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 315.

ciation of Islam in reckless bravado, blind extravagance and fanatic intolerance. Referring to the life of the prophet he told a Muslim : "The truth whereof if thou didst know as well, I am perswaded thou wouldest spit in the face of thy Alcaron (*al Kuran*) and trample it under thy feete, and bury it under a Jaxe (i.e. *privy*), a booke of that strange and weake matter that I my selfe (as meanelly as thou dost see me attired now) have already written two better bookes (God be thanked), and will hereafter this (by Gods *gratious* permission) write another better and truer."⁷⁸ A man with a mind so perverse could hardly be expected to take an impartial view of strange customs and novel faiths. But fortunately Coryat formed a class by himself and his record of complacent vanity and foolish fanaticism remains unbeaten.

By the middle of the seventeenth century the travellers' accounts had been more or less stereotyped and every one of them sought to describe the social customs and the religious rites of the countries they visited, as well as the dress, the dwellings, the staple food and the common diversions of the people. Every traveller therefore referred to the early marriage, that prevailed among the Hindus and Muslims alike, the caste system that characterised the Hindus alone, the theory of transmigration in which the "Banias" or, as Roe preferred to call them, the Pythagorians, implicitly believed, the consequent Jain practice of strict vegetarianism or abstinence from animal food, the absurd length to which respect for animal life was carried and its abuse and exploitation by less scrupulous persons of other communities and above all the Sati or the practice of self-immolation on the funeral pyre of the deceased husband. Nor was the Hindu doctrine of trinity always overlooked and as it is easier to appreciate physical feats and acrobatic skill than to comprehend the philosophy of the Hindus, no traveller failed to notice the exploits of the jugglers and tumblers and their roadside open air performances as well as the strange habits of and severe self-mortification to which both the Muslim and the Hindu mendicants were wont to subject themselves.

The Indian habits, both Hindu and Muslim, have been described by Thevenot and Careri as well as many of their predecessors. Some of the travellers, Manucci, Thevenot and Tavernier, to mention only three of them, found the Indian or rather the Muslim garb quite suitable and, if Mandelslo is to be credited, many *European* merchants resident in the country dressed in the Indian fashion.⁷⁹ Downton's brief but picturesque lines will bear quotation : "This river wee past, and landed right before the Alfondica or custom house ; and so along through many streets (humming like bees in swarmes with multitudes of people in white coates, men and women, close bodied and full of gathering to the mid-leg, with breeches and stockings in one, ruffling like gootes and all of one single callico ; this being their generall or most neate or angelicall habite, which sparkles, of their kinde of starching, like silver spangles)."⁸⁰ Obviously

78. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 272.

79. Mandelslo's *Travels*, pp. 20-21.

80. *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton*, p. 134.

the newcomers landing at Swally did not find the country habits either disagreeable or unbecoming.

The food varied from community to community, caste to caste and province to province. Mandelslo twice dined with the Governor of Ahmadabad, a native of Persia. When he wanted to take his leave of the Governor after the first visit Mandelslo was asked to stay for the dinner. "He caused some Fruit to be brought, while his people were laying the cloath, which was of cotton, laid upon a large Carpet of red *Turkie*-leather. The dinner was very noble, and serv'd up and drest according to the *Persian* way, the Meat being laid in dishes, all Porcelane, upon Rice of several colours, in the same manner as we had seen at the Court of *Ispahan*."⁸¹ On his second visit he found the governor smoking tobacco who later took some opium and *bhang* as well. When the dinner began, "The Carver sate in the middle of the great Vessels wherein the meat was brought up, and with a great spoon put of it into little dishes, to be serv'd up to us. The *Chan* himself would needs also put in some, to assure us of his being pleas'd' with our company."⁸²

It is interesting to note that both coffee and tea had gained favour with the Indians in the earlier part of the seventeenth century though the exact date of their advent cannot be ascertained. Coffee was imported from Yemen, for India had trade relations with Persia and Arabia from the earliest times. The Indian ships used to bring *Kahwa* or Coffee berries on their return journey from Aden if Mandelslo is to be credited.⁸³ Terry informs us that "Many of the people who are strict in their religion drinke no wine at all. They use a liquor more healthful then pleasant, they call *Cahha* (Coffee: Arabic *Kahwa*): a blacke seed boyled in water, which doth little alter the taste of the water. Notwithstanding, it is very good to helpe digestion to quicken the spirits, and to clense the bloud."⁸⁴ The coffee habit does not seem to have been very popular. Tavernier says "as for India, it is but little used there."⁸⁵ Fryer found this drink very popular in Persia and noticed that if the Muslims of the Deccan "invite a Christian, they order Dishes apart, and between meals Entertain with *Coho*, Tobacco, *Pawn*, which makes a fragrant Breath, and gives a rare Vermilion to the Lips."⁸⁶ But the custom was not confined to the Muslims alone. Ovington says "The *Bannians* are not restrain'd from the liberal Draughts of Tea and Coffee to revive their wasted Spirits any part of the Day." "Tea," he adds, "is a common Drink with all the Inhabitants of *India*, as well *Europeans* as *Natives*."⁸⁷ Ovington came to Surat in 1689. An earlier traveller, Mandelslo, also claimed to have found tea in common use in this country. "At our ordinary meetings every day," he wrote, "we took only *The*, which is commonly used all over the Indies, not only

81. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 28.

82. *Ibid*, p. 29.

83. *Ibid*, p. 69.

84. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 300.

85. Tavernier's *Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 20.

86. Fryer's *East India and Persia*, Vol. I, p. 234.

87. Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat*, p. 180.

among those of the Country, but also among the *Dutch* and *English*, who take it as a Drug that cleanses the Stomach, and digest the superfluous humours, by a temperate heat particular thereto."⁸⁸ Mandelslo arrived at Surat in April 1638. The popularity of tea among the indigenous people seems to have declined since then to be revived again in more recent times. As Tavernier informs us coffee was not grown in India. Indigenous wild tea plants were discovered in the hills of Assam in the thirties of the nineteenth century but it is doubtful whether they were cultivated in this country in the days of Thevenot and Careri.

The poor man's drink was toddy, but every poor man was not permitted this luxury, as the caste rules among the Hindus interdicted in many cases all alcoholic beverage. Thevenot devotes one chapter to this liquor which Terry found "as pleasing to the taste as any white wine, if drunke betimes in the morning."⁸⁹ But others refer to its pernicious effects. Nicholas Downton attributed the death of seven of his crew to "fluxe, which I conceive proceedeth of their inordynate drynkinge of a sorte of wine that distilleth out of the palmyto trees called Tadie."⁹⁰ Half a pint of tari (toddy) sufficed to cause Tavernier a terrible headache that lasted for two successive days.⁹¹

Neither black coffee nor brown tea, not even white toddy was so popular as *pan*. It was a universal favourite and was commended by many European travellers for its beneficent qualities. According to Roe, "it bytts in the mouth, avoydes rume, cooles the head, strengthens the teeth, and is all their phisicke ; it makes one unused to it giddy, and makes a man's spittle redd, and in tyme coullers the teeth which is esteemed a beauty."⁹² Terry writes: "There is yet another helps to comfort the stomacke for such as forbear wine, as herbe called Beetle or Pawne. It is in shape somewhat like an ivie leafe, but more tender. They chew it with a hard nut somewhat like a nut-megge, and a little pure white lime among the leaves ; and when they have sucked out the Juyce, put forth the rest. It hath many rare qualities ; for it preserves the teeth, comforts the braine, strengthens the stomacke, and cures and prevents a tainted breath."⁹³ Obviously Terry had not seen the leaf in its natural state or he would not have likened it to an ivy leaf. It is equally certain that Fryer, had not seen it either when he wrote that "The Natives chew it (betelnuts) with *chinam* (Lime of calcined Oyster-Shells) and *Arach*, a *Convolvulus*, with a Leaf like the largest Ivy, for to preserve their Teeth and Errect an unsavoury Breath : If swallowed, it inebriates as much as Tobacco."⁹⁴ Mandelslo thought that the "leaves are like those of the Orange-tree."⁹⁵ According to Pietro della Valle, "leaves of Betle" are "to the sight not

88. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 13.

89. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 298.

90. *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton*, p. 196.

91. Tavernier's *Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 242.

92. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 11.

93. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 300.

94. Fryer's *East India and Persia*, Vol. I, p. 110.

95. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 33.

unlike the leaves of Cedars.”⁹⁶ He also had not apparently seen the unprepared leaf but he referred to a ceremonial significance of presenting it to a visitor—“the custom being so in *India* for the person visited to give *Bettle*-leaves to the visitant, wherewith the visit ends.”⁹⁷ People of all castes, creeds and communities irrespective of their station in life, in all parts of India enjoyed the *pan* and it was freely distributed on festive occasions.

If Mandelslo left us a picture of a governor’s dinner he did not forget to write of the poor man’s daily fare. “Tradesmen (he really means artisans) are in the saddest condition, in as much as the Children cannot be put to any other Trades then what their fathers are of, and there is this inconvenience withall, that a piece of work must pass through three or four hands before it is finished ; so that all that they can do is to get five or six pence a day. They must accordingly fare very poorly, their ordinary Diet being only *Kitser*y, which they make of Beans, pounded and Rice, which they boyl together in water till the water be consumed. Then they put these to a little Butter melted, and this is their Supper, for all day they eat only Rice and Wheat in the grain.”⁹⁸ Mandelslo could not claim an intimate knowledge of the poor artisans of Gujarat but his account is based, though without acknowledgement on that of a Dutch Factor who spent seven years at Agra. Francisco Pelsaert said the same thing almost in identical words—“For their monotonous daily food, they have nothing but a little *Khichri*, made of ‘green pulse’ mixed with rice, which is cooked with water over a little fire until the moisture has evaporated, and eaten hot with butter in the evening ; in the day time they munch a little parched pulse or other grain, which they say suffices for their lean stomachs.”⁹⁹ Pelsaert left India before Mandelslo came, nor could the Dutch merchant’s *Remonstiantie* have been accessible to the German nobleman and the latter’s debt to the former was not therefore direct. But De Laet was permitted to use Pelsaert’s work for his chapter on the character, customs, institutions and superstitions of the Indian people and Mandelslo extracted from De Laet’s *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* the passage quoted above with such verbal changes as he considered necessary.¹⁰⁰

If the daily fare of the ill-paid artisans was extremely poor that of some Hindu castes and sects, by no means indigent, appeared very strange to newcomers from Europe. The “Baniyans” as they are collectively and indiscriminately called by the travellers, scrupulously refrained from all animal food and subsisted on vegetables and fruits. For people of the west meat and food were synonymous but these Hindus would not on any account hurt the meanest of the living creatures and would if possible redeem them at great expense from persons with scant respect for animal life. They built hospitals for ailing and old beasts and birds and as Fryer scoffingly remarked, “They have Hospitals here for Cows ; and are Charit-

96. *Travels of Pietro della Valle*, Vol. II, p. 226.

97. *Ibid*, p. 226.

98. Mandelslo’s *Travels*, p. 64.

99. Moreland and Geyl, *Jahangir’s India*, pp. 60-61.

100. De Laet’s *Empire of the Great Mogol*, pp. 88-89.

able to Dogs, . . . being more merciful to Beasts than Men."¹⁰¹ This strange conduct was noticed by many writers and naturally caused comments not always complimentary. Herbert writes of the Bania's strict abstinence from meat and fish. "Full of phlegmatick fear they be and superstition: They are indeed merciful, grieving to see other people so hard-hearted as to feed upon Fish, Flesh, Raddish, Onions, Garlick, and such things as either have life or resemblance of blood. They for their parts will not kill so much as a Louse, a Flea, a Kakaroch or the like; *Non usus erat carniū ante diluvium*, saith *Comestor*; but contrariwise buy their liberty of such Sailors, and others, as of necessity must crush them: Yea, they have Hospitals for old, lame, sick or starved Creatures, Birds, Beasts, Cats, Rats, or the like; and have no worse men to oversee them than the *Pushelans*, the best respected sorts of *Bramins*."¹⁰² Similarly Mandelslo observes, "the Benjans abstain from the killing of living creatures, even to the Insects, how dangerous or troublesome soever they may be. They also forbear keeping any Fire and lighting Candles in the night time out of a fear that Flies or Moths should burn themselves therein; nay they make some difficulty to make pits on the Ground, for fear of drowning the Fleas and other Insects, which might lie in the way. What is yet more superstitious, they do not only redeem the Birds, which *Mahumelans* had taken, but they also built Hospitals for Beasts that are hurt and wounded."¹⁰³ Linschoten who came earlier and knew the country better also testified that "They ate not any thing that hath life or blood in it, neither would they kil it for all the goods in ye worlde, how small or unnecessarie soever it were, for that they stedfastly beléeve that every living thing hath a soule, and are next [after men to be accounted of] accordingly to Pythagoras law, and know it must die; and sometimes they do buy certain fowles or other beastes of the Christians or Portingals, which they meant to have killed, and [when they have bought them], they let them flee and run away."¹⁰⁴ This weakness on the part of the Banians was sometimes exploited by unscrupulous knaves to their own advantage and Careri claims to have actually seen a "rogue" at Surat who whenever he wanted to make some easy money went knife in hand with a hen to the Bania quarters so that some one might pay to save its life. Mundy heard of a bird hospital at Cambay¹⁰⁵ and Tavernier saw several such institutions for sick and disabled animals at Ahmadabad.¹⁰⁶

This unusual solicitude for mute animals demanded an explanation and the travellers found an easy one in the Hindu belief in the immortality and transmigration of soul. Very few of them ever realised that this creed, or to be more accurate, theory was not confined to any particular caste or sect and reverence for animal life prevailed in its most extreme form among the Jainas, Mandelslo would include even the Rajputs among

101. Fryer's *East India and Persia*, Vol. I, p. 138.

102. Herbert, *Some Yeares Travels*, p. 52.

103. Mandelslo's *Travels*, pp. 53-54.

104. *Voyage of Linschoten*, Vol. I, p. 253.

105. *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II, p. 310.

106. Tavernier's *Travels in India*, Vol. I, pp. 63-64.

the Banias¹⁰⁷ but all the seventeenth century travellers agreed that these tender hearted superstition was derived from the teachings of Pythagoras. "These are of *Pythagoras* his doctrintating, believing the Metempsychosis or transaniamation or passage of Souls into Beasts," said Herbert and others concurred.¹⁰⁸ Roe repeats "The severest sect of these are Pythagorians for the opinion of the soules transmigration, and will not kyll any living creature, no, not the virmine that bites them, for feare of disseising the speiritt of some frend departed."¹⁰⁹ None of them even suspected that the theory might have originated in India in an age much earlier than that of the Greek philosopher and Pietro della Valle informs us that one of his acquaintances actually went so far as to suggest that Hindu superstition had made a god of Pythagoras and he and Brahma were identical.¹¹⁰ But no one would credit the shrewd businessmen that the Banias were with any philanthropic or humanitarian motive. They were merely inspired by considerations of self interest in their unreasoning care for beasts, birds and insects. It was insinuated that they would not kill anything in fear of causing inconvenience to one of their own departed relatives whose soul might have found accommodation in the body of that particular creature. Mandelslo says that the Rajputs "believe in particular that the Souls of Men go into Birds, who afterwards give their Friends notice of the good and evil which is to befall them: upon which account it is, that they so superstitiously observe the flight and singing of those Creatures." "They have no compassion but what they have towards irrational creatures, especially Birds, which they take the pains to keep and feed, out of a perswation, that one day when their Souls shall be lodg'd in Creatures of that kind, some or other will have the same charity towards them. And this is their employment particularly on Holy-dayes, as also for ten or twelve dayes after the decease of their nearest kindred, and upon the anniversary dayes of their death."¹¹¹ Yet Mandelslo had their grounds for extraordinary abhorrence for blood shed and slaughter from the Banias themselves. While travelling from Agra to Lahore—"one day with a Pistol shot I kill'd a great Serpent, which I met with in the way and afterwards a Leopard and a Roebuck: but the *Benjans*, of whom there were many in our Company, took it very ill at my hands, and reproach'd me with my cruelty, in that I deprived those Creatures of a life which it was not in my power to give them, and which God had not bestow'd on them, but that he might be thereby glorified."¹¹² Here was a rational sentiment easily intelligible which Mandelslo and his fellow travellers found difficult to reconcile with the notorious superstition of the Hindus and ascribed their solicitude for helpless animals to their anxiety for their departed kindreds' welfare, not knowing that one of the precepts of Hinduism was to look upon all living beings as one's ownself.

107. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 57.

108. Herbert, *Some Years Travels*, p. 52.

109. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 271.

110. *Travels of Pietro della Valle*, Vol. I, p. 76.

111. Mandelslo's *Travels*, pp. 57-58.

112. *Ibid*, p. 45.

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111. Mandelslo's *Travels*, pp. 57-58.

112. *Ibid*, p. 45.

Early marriage was a notorious social evil which did not escape the notice of foreign travellers, but here also their account often suffered from absurd exaggeration. Herbert observed, "Marriage is here so honoured that most times they contract at seven, and at ten years old are often Parents ; which puts me in mind of that which *Pliny* in his 6 and 8 *lib*, *ch*. 17 and 14 writes concerning the *Calinge* whom he places hereabouts, and would have us believe that the women are pregnant at five and seldome live above eight ; but this is certain, that if an infant dye ere he be married his Parents procure a Virgin (to whom they give some Dynaes of Gold) to be his Bed-fellow or Wife for one Night, to avoid the reproachful Proverb, *He dyed unmarried*."¹¹³ In fairy tales we hear of such weddings and the selfless devotion of the saintly bride which miraculously restores the princely groom deceased before his time once again to life and health but in sober history we do not come across any such instance. Yet a more rational explanation was not wanting. Fitch was told—"they marry their children so young, because it is an order that when the man dieth, the woman must be burned with him, so that if the father die, yet they may have a father in lawe to helpe to bring up the children which bee married."¹¹⁴ Withington says : "The reason whye they marrye them so younge, they say, is in regard they would not leave their children wiveless ; if yt should please God to take the parents away of either of the children, yet (say they) they have other parents to ayde them till they come to yeares of discretion."¹¹⁵ However Herbert was not the only person to give credence to stories of early conception. Mandelslo also writes, "they marry their Children very young, which is the less to be wondered at, in as much as it is very certain that the *Indians* of both Sexes are capable of engendring much sooner than any other Nation : so that there are not any but are fit for the work of generation at ten or twelve years of age." In confirmation of his statement he cites the story of a child of three giving birth to a boy and "*Sheich Choram* sent for both Mother and Child, and ordered them to be brought up at the Court."¹¹⁶ He also thought "the climate which derives to the *Bodies* living in it no great disposition to Chastity."¹¹⁷

If Indian girls conceived long before they attained puberty, some of the travellers were of opinion that nature compensated them with very easy labour. Terry writes "The women in those parts have a great happiness above all I know, in their easie bringing forth of children ; for it is a thing common there, for women great with childe one day to ride, carrying their infants in their bodies, the next day to ride againe, carrying them in their armes."¹¹⁸ This blessing was not denied to the fair ladies of the Deccan if Methwold is to be believed. "They (the children) come into the

113. Herbert, *Some Yeares Travels*, p. 45.

114. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, pp. 16-17.

115. *Ibid*, p. 221.

116. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 58.

117. *Ibid*, p. 51.

118. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 309.

world without much trouble to their mothers, for they are up againe about their business in three or four dayes, some the same day.'"¹¹⁹

Every one of the travellers claims to have witnessed at least one case of voluntary Sati. Roe writes of "*Gentills* of sundry idolatryes, theyr wives adorning the pyle, and entring the funerall fyres with great joy and honor"¹²⁰ but his evidence rests on common report. The testimony of Hawkins is more authoritative though he does not seem to have attended any such funeral. He says "I have seene many proper women brought before the King, whom (by his commandment) none may burn without his leave and sight of them ; I meane those of Agra. When any of these commeth, hee doth perswade them with many promises of gifts and living if they will live, but in my time no perswasion could prevaile, but burn they would. The King, seeing that all would not serve, giveth his leave for her to be carried to the fire, where she burneth herselfe alive with her dead husband."¹²¹ The most lamentable case is the one cited by Nicholas Withington for the girl widow was "not above ten yeares of age."¹²² Her husband, a soldier, died in action and she burnt herself with his clothes and turban and the Governor's orders prohibiting the Sati could not influence her decision. Pietro della Valle in his romantic chivalry resolved, when he saw at Ikkeri a woman who had decided to burn herself with her husband's dead body, to honour by his presence her funeral "with that compassionate affection which so great Conjugal Fidelity and Love seem to me to deserve."¹²³ The Italian traveller carried with him the coffin of his dead wife until he returned home and the resolution was quite in keeping with his own temperament. Mandelslo relates a case which occurred at Cambay during his visit to that city. "The next day, the *English* Merchants came to my Lodging, whence we went together to the River side, without the City, where this voluntary execution was to be done. The Womans Husband was a *Rasboute*, and had been kill'd near *Lahor*, 200 Leagues from *Cambaya*. As soon as she had heard of his death, she would needs do his Obsequies, by causing her self to be burnt alive ; but whereas the *Mogul* and his Officers are *Mahumetans*, who endeavour by degrees to abolish this heathenish and barbarous Custom, the Governour had a long time oppos'd her desires, under pretence that the news of her Husbands death being uncertain, he could not consent to the doing of an inhumane action, whereof there would afterwards haply be cause to repent. The Governours design was to see, whether time would abate anything of her passion, and the earnestness she was in to follow her husband into the other World : but seeing she was daily more and more instant to do it, he permitted her to comply with the Laws of her own Religion. She was not above twenty years of age, yet we saw her come up to the place of her execution with so much confidence, and a chearfulness so extraordinary to those who go to present and inevitable death, that I was much inclin'd to believe, that

119. Moreland, *Relations of Golconda*, p. 26.

120. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 105.

121. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 119.

122. *Ibid*, p. 219.

123. *Travels of Pietro della Valle*, Vol. II, p. 267.

she had dull'd her senses with a dose of *Opium*, which is as commonly used in the *Indies* as in *Persia*.¹²⁴ It is needless to add further instances of this well-known practice. Fryer also suspected that the widow's own people drugged her with *Datura*, "when half mad she throws herself into the Fire, and they ready with great Logs keep her in his Funeral Pile."¹²⁵ Although Fryer does not speak from his personal experience there must have been many cases of such inhumanity and one wishes that Withington had been as observant as Mandelslo for it is very unlikely for a child of ten to persist in her mad resolution to burn herself to death though women of maturer years might have willingly gone to the pyre. Manucci claims to have rescued with the aid of an Armenian friend a widow about to be burnt, the mute appeal of whose pathetic eyes beseeching help had not gone unnoticed. The Armenian afterwards married the lady and had a son by her.¹²⁶ It is to be noted that the Moghul emperor and his officers viewed this practice with unconcealed disfavour and tried their best to prevent it by persuasion if possible. If they did not forbid it altogether they must have been influenced by the same considerations as actuated the early Governors-General of the East India Company, who hesitated to interfere with a social evil sanctified by old tradition and longstanding custom. The Muslim rulers of the Deccan were not less averse to this practice than their brethren of the north. Methwold mentions a Masulipatam case where the Kotwal definitely refused to give his consent and the woman afterwards circumvented the law by hanging herself.¹²⁷ An anonymous writer asserts that the Sati "is not permitted in places where Moslems are numerous, being against their rule; and I have myself seen on two occasions that it was prevented when the women were practically ready to jump into the fire."¹²⁸

It will not be irrelevant to refer here to the religious tolerance that ordinarily prevailed in the country. Commenting on Coryat's foolhardy attack on Islam and its prophet, Terry observes "which bold attempt in many other places of Asia, where Mahomet is more zealously professed, had forfeitted his life with as much torture as tyrannie could invent. But here every man hath libertie to professe his owne religion freely and, for any restriction I ever observed, to dispute against theirs with impunity."¹²⁹ For such blasphemy as Coryat uttered against the religion of the state he might have been pilloried and burnt in his own country and in other parts of Europe. In the seventeenth century India, however, if we leave out of account some of the deplorable lapses of Aurangzeb, everybody was at liberty to profess his own faith without any let or hindrance from the state for the sovereign was expected, irrespective of his own religion, to give an unbiassed verdict on any disputed point relating to social customs or religious practices.

124. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 31.

125. Fryer's *East India and Persia*, Vol. I, p. 96.

126. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II, p. 97.

127. Moreland, *Relations of Golconda*, p. 29.

128. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

129. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 315.

The travellers need not be blamed if in the interminable mazes of the polytheistic practices and primitive cults of popular Hinduism they failed to discover its higher teachings. Terry was told that the Brahmans "acknowledge one God, whom they describe with a thousand hands, with a thousand feete, and as many eyes, thereby expressing his power."¹³⁰ The real significance of the imagery was entirely lost upon him for neither could he comprehend nor could the ignorant Brahman whom he consulted explain the philosophy of the Gita and its conception of the Supreme Being pervading the entire universe and guiding the course of countless lives that emanated from and ultimately terminated in Him. Both Herbert and Mandelslo learnt, not from their Hindu acquaintances but from the treatises written by previous European scholars that the Hindus believed in the unity of godhead¹³¹ but the myths and legends in which Hindu theology is intricately enveloped reached them in a garbled version. Here is the fable of the elephant-headed Ganesha, the god of success as Pietro della Valle heard it. "He is the son of Mahadeu, who finding him one day with *Parveti* his wife, but his own Mother, and not knowing who he was, kill'd him out of jealousy, cutting off his Head; but afterwards understanding that he was his own Son, he repented him of his error, and resolv'd to bring him to life again. Wherefore meeting with an Elephant, (as he had purpos'd to do with what he first happen'd upon) he cut off his Head, and placed it on his dead Son's shoulders."¹³² Such stories were not calculated to bring the denizens of the Hindu Olympus into repute though Pietro della Valle was prepared to concede that some truth may lie behind these apparent absurdities. He writes: "Some of these Idolets sat upon Sundry Animals, as Tygers and the like, and even upon Rats; of which things the foolish and ignorant Indians relate ridiculous stories. But I doubt not that, under the veil of these Fables, their ancient Sages (most parsimonious of the Sciences, as all Barbarians ever were) had hid from the vulgar many secrets, either of Natural or Moral Philosophy, and perhaps also of History: and I hold for certain that all these so monstrous figures have secretly some more rational significations, though express'd in this uncouth manner."¹³³ But everyone was not prepared to take such tolerant views of "pagan" gods and "heathenish" mummeries. Roe writes of "sundry idolatryes and worshipping the creaturs of heaven and earth promiscuously" and scoffingly refers to the pilgrimage to the Ganges to which "all ascribe a kinde of divinity."¹³⁴ It was easier to admire the cunning of the jugglers and the "tumbling tricks of Men that use dauncinge, tumblinge etts. Feats." In the world of sports all races and creeds meet on a common ground and willingly pay homage to exceptional skill and uncommon courage.

The concept of caste is so alien to Christian society that this novel feature of Hinduism could not possibly escape the notice of any of our

130. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 321.

131. Herbert, *Some Yeares Travels*, p. 47; Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 52.

132. *Travels of Pietro della Valle*, Vol. I, p. 73.

133. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 73-74.

134. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, pp. 270-271.

travellers. They were aware of its rigidity and restrictions and both Thevenot and Careri attempted to give exhaustive inventories of existing castes and their subdivisions. Herbert knew that originally there were only four principal castes and he associated the later subdivisions with crafts thus indicating their professional character. He says "these never marry out of their own Casts ; Bramins marry the Daughters of *Bramins* ; Cuttery's the Daughters of Cuttery's ; Shuddery's *Shuddery's* ; and *Wyse*s not only so, but also comper in their own Trades, as Taylors, the Daughters of Taylors ; *Barbers*, Barbers Daughters, etc. And contrary to the custome of *Mahometans*, their Wives live not under such subjection."¹³⁵ The last observation applied to West and South India alone where the Hindu women were not expected to put on the veil. According to Herbert the Brahmins were divided into eightytwo and the Vaishyas into thirtysix sub-castes¹³⁶ and he was under the impression that none but the "*Rajaes*" (Kshatriyas, i.e., Rajputs) and the "*Wyse*s" cared to contract more than one marriage.¹³⁷ "Polygamy here is odious," says he, "in which respect they cease not to vilifie the *Mahometans* as people of an impure soul."¹³⁸ Terry says "These Gentiles take but one wife ; of which they are not so fearefull as the Mahometans of their multitude, for they suffer their to goe abroad."¹³⁹ Mandelslo was better informed and definitely asserts that the Hindu was not debarred from polygamy. "The *Benjan* Law permits men, not only to marry a second or third time, in case of death, but also to wed a second or third Wife, if the first and second proves barren ; the first retaining nevertheless a certain pre-eminence, as being Mother of the Family."¹⁴⁰ This indicates the general practice rather than the legal restriction to matrimony, for while the Muslim is by law limited to four wives at a time, the Hindu may, if he likes, marry as many wives as he can comfortably maintain. Hamilton who came much later knew that "there are no Laws against Polygamy" among "the Gentiles."¹⁴¹ Aware as he was of the exclusiveness and rigidity of the caste system Mandelslo still suggests that the Baniyas could sometimes convert Muslims,¹⁴² but on what authority we do not know.

A small community that inhabited the sea coast of Gujarat was specially mentioned by many foreign writers because they "neither burne nor interre their dead" but "incircle pieces of ground with high stone walls, remote from houses or roadways, and therein lay their carkasses wrapped in sheetes ; thus having no other tombes but the gorges of ravenous fowles."¹⁴³ The Parsees form but an infinitesimal fraction of the teeming population

135. Herbert, *Some Yeares Travels*, p. 51.

136. Terry's total of four score and four is probably based on the number of species through which the soul according to popular belief migrate before attaining salvation.

137. Herbert, *Some Yeares Travels*, p. 46.

138. *Ibid*, p. 46.

139. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 322.

140. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 52.

141. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. I, p. 94.

142. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 57.

143. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 323.

of India but they can rightly claim to be the most progressive and wealthy community in the country. To-day they are well-known for their industrial enterprise and commercial ventures but early in the seventeenth century they still eked out an honest livelihood as agriculturists, skilled artisans and small tradesmen. Mandelslo writes: "Their habitations are for the most part along the Sea-Coast, and they live very peaceably, sustaining themselves by the advantage they make out of the *Tobacco* they plant, and the *Terry* they get out of the Palms of those parts, and whereof they make *Arak*, in regard they are permitted to drink Wine. They intermeddle also with Merchandise, and the exchange of Money and keep Shops, and are of all Trades, -except those of Farriers, Blacksmiths and Locksmiths; in regard it is an unpardonable sin among them to put out the fire."¹⁴⁴ When Fryer came to India towards the close of the century they still continued to rely mainly on agricultural pursuits. "They are rather Husbandmen than Merchants" testifies the sailor physician, "not caring to stir abroad."¹⁴⁵ Early the next century came another sailor, Captain Alexander Hamilton and he found more craftsmen among the Parsees than peasants. "They are very industrious and diligent in their Vocation, and are bred to Trades and manuring Ground. They are good Carpenters or Shipbuilders, exquisite in Weaver's Trade and Embroidery, which may be seen in the rich Atlases, *Bottadaars* and *Jemewars* made by them, as well as fine *Baroach* and *Nunsaree Bastas* that come from their Manufactories. They work well in Ivory and Agate, and are excellent Cabinet-makers. They distil strong Waters, but that they do clandestinely, because that Trade is prohibited by the Government they live under; yet some of them get a good Livelyhood by it."¹⁴⁶ Still later Grose found that "The manufactures peculiar to that province of Guzarat are chiefly carried on by the industry of the Parsees."¹⁴⁷ When Bishop Heber came to Bombay in the first quarter of the nineteenth century the Parsees had already become the foremost Indian mercantile class in Western India.¹⁴⁸ The gradual emergence of this enterprising people from agriculture to industry makes an extremely interesting story. Compelled to abandon their ancestral home by religious persecution the Parsees found a happy asylum in the hospitable shores of India and contributed in no small degree to the wealth and welfare of the land of their adoption. While standing steadfastly by their ancient faith they did not falter for a moment in their fidelity to the new country.

VIII

Travellers' accounts often suffer from historical inaccuracy for obvious reasons. They had no access to authentic chronicles of the country and for current events they had to depend mainly, if not solely, on *bazar*

144. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 59.

145. Fryer's *East Indies and Persia*, Vol. I, p. 295.

146. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. I, p. 95.

147. Grose, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, Vol. I, p. 123.

148. Heber's *Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 175, 194.

gossip. Moreover they were apt to get confused with unfamiliar foreign names and the seventeenth century corruption of Indian nomenclature probably made confusion worse confounded. Herbert makes Taj Mahal Jahangir's "best beloved wife" and Malik Ambar "a son of Nezam Shah."¹⁴⁹ According to Mandelslo "*Schach Achobar*" (Shah Akbar) was great-grandfather of "*Schach Choram*" (Khuram=Shah Jahan) and "*Schach Choram*, who was living at my being in those parts was a younger Son of *Scach Jahan's*."¹⁵⁰ But all such errors were not due to ignorance, sometimes they must be attributed to lack of elementary care. While relating the story of the Moghul conquest of Gujarat Mandelslo confidently asserts that the last reigning monarch of that kingdom was Mahmud Begara (Sulthan Mahomed Begeran)¹⁵¹ but later correctly says that Madosfher (Muzaffar)¹⁵² was the name of the last sultan who was carried prisoner by Akbar but he later managed to effect his escape and caused the emperor no little trouble. But even the *bazar* gossip preserved by contemporary travellers is not always without its value. The obscene story of the incestuous father¹⁵³ which Mandelslo relates in all its revolting details seems to have been the origin of the scandal to which Bernier gave wide currency in the reign of Aurangzeb. Only the builder of the Taj was substituted for a nameless sinner entombed at Ahmadabad and an accomplished princess was made to personate for a young lady unknown to history. Travellers had neither the time nor the training for testing historical evidence or checking doubtful chronology and accepted for sober truth many of the entertaining tales that went round the sarais and market places. That contemporary history also suffered badly at their hands will be evident from a cursory scrutiny of Thevenot's account of Shivaji and Carré's *History of Shivaji* and *Sequel to the History of Shivaji*.¹⁵⁴ Yet we cannot ignore the information they have unconsciously left about the economic condition of the country. Many of them noted the prices current at the time of their visit of food grains and other necessities of life. All of them are not silent about the prevailing wage rates at industrial centres. And it is not altogether impossible to prepare a schedule of prices and wages for different parts of India at different dates from the materials left by foreign travellers and resident merchants in the employment of the European trading companies. But this is hardly the place for an enquiry into the economic conditions of India during the seventeenth century.

IX

The most valuable part of Thevenot and Careri's travels, as indeed of all other travellers, is where they record their personal experiences and write of the roads they traversed, the towns they visited, the men they

149. Herbert, *Some Yeares Travels*, pp. 65 and 68.

150. Mandelslo's *Travels*, pp. 37 and 42.

151. *Ibid*, p. 25.

152. *Ibid*, p. 48.

153. *Ibid*, p. 25.

154. Sen, *Foreign Biographies*, pp. 187-258; also *The Travels of Abbé Carré*, Vol. I, pp. 229-30 and Vol. II, pp. 319-23.

met, the things they saw, the amenities they enjoyed, the discomforts they suffered and the difficulties they encountered. In those days there was no swift transport, the road was not always good and the country did not afford all the comforts and conveniences that the foreigner could expect in his own home land. The sea had its corsairs, the land its highwaymen and few travellers could afford to carry with them the much-needed cash ; the utility of letters of credit depended on contingencies no one could foresee. But despite all these difficulties the lure of the unknown proved too strong for many adventurous spirits and in the far-off lands of the east they were warmly welcomed not only by their own countrymen but by all Europeans in general and even by their dusky brethren in faith. Careri was befriended by Portuguese officials and clergymen, Mandelslo was received with open arms by the English and the Dutch merchants, Pietro della Valle found never-failing friends in the Dutch and even Carré, employed on a political mission, was not infrequently helped by the enemies of his country. A white man travelling in the Moghul's country could normally count on the friendship and assistance of other white men.

The first annoyance that awaited the traveller at the port of disembarkation was the customs officer, not a popular figure in any country at any time. The duties were not high but the search was in some places exceptionally strict. Surat had a bad name among strangers on this account. Roe heard of "the custome of the Kings officers to search everie thing that came ashore, even to the pocketts of mens cloathes on their backs, for custome."¹⁵⁵ His ambassadorial rank spared him all indignity and discourtesy but the average stranger could not expect any special consideration. Pietro della Valle, however, testifies that an exception was made in the case of his lady companion, doubtless on account of her sex. "Near the place where the boats land," he informs us, "stands the *Dogana*, or Custom-house, and it took us up some time to dispatch there, because they observe very narrowly, all goods that are brought in, (although they be but Clothes for change) to see whether there be anything coming to the Customes ; nor will they suffer strangers to enter till they be first known, and have license as 'tis also practis'd in *Venice*. In all things they proceed with so great wariness, and good order, that it being known that I conducted with me Sigr Mariuccia although a girl very young, the *Capo* or President of the *Dogana*, requir'd likewise to be informed of her quality and gave order that she should not be conducted with any violence, or other disorder : otherwise in lawful things, there is no difficulty, either through diversity of Religion, or upon any other account."¹⁵⁶ Pietro della Valle had no merchandise with him, but Nicholas Downton who had, had less pleasant experience at the customs house of Surat. Mandelslo says that a duty of 2% was levied on bullion and 3½% on everything else¹⁵⁷ but he had no compliments to pay to the men of the customs. "We came ashore near the *Sulthan's* (governor's) Palace," says he, "and went immediately to the Custom-house to have our things search'd by the Officers

155. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, pp. 28-29.

156. *Travels of Pietro della Valle*, Vol. I, pp. 23-24.

157. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 18.

there ; which is done with such exactness in this place that they think it not enough to open Chests and Portmantles, but examine peoples clothes and pockets. The *Sulthan* or Governour, nay the Customers themselves, oblige Merchants and Passengers to part with, at the price they shall think fit to put upon them, those Goods and Commodities which they had brought for their own private use." Thus Mandelslo had to part with a pair of yellow amber bracelets for the time being at least.¹⁵⁸ Obviously the merchants were more rigorously searched than ordinary passengers. But the customs house people had to be very much on the alert as pearls were often smuggled through the port of Surat. It is needless to say that despite all vigilant scrutiny the professional smugglers and the more respectable merchants did not always find it difficult to pass unnoticed articles of high value and small dimensions like pearls. Roe admits that Richard Steele and Mr Jackson brought with them "the pearle and some other small matters stollen ashore, according to my order, which I received and gave quittance for."¹⁵⁹ Tavernier mentions the case of an English captain who smuggled gold on several occasions and observes that "the merchants who import it (gold) use so much cunning in order to conceal it, that but little of it comes to the knowledge of the customs officers. The former do all they can to evade paying the customs, especially as they do not run so much risk as in the custom-houses of Europe."¹⁶⁰

Different countries have different ways of catering to the travellers' needs. The lack of inns in India was a subject of common complaint among newcomers from the west. Nicholas Downton says that "they have not the use of innes, as in Christendome" and travellers had to lodge in Serais instead.¹⁶¹ Terry elaborates the inconveniences in more explicit terms. "In this kingdome there are no innes to entertaine strangers. Onely in great townes and cities are faire houses built for their receipt (which they call Sarray) not inhabited ; where any passengers may have roome freely, but must bringe with him his bedding, his cooke, and other necessities wherein to dresse his meate ; which are usually carried on camels, or else in carts drawne with oxen, wherein they have tents to pitch when they meate with no Serras."¹⁶² Mandelslo also found that "There are no common Inns in all the Kingdom of *Guzuratta*, nor indeed in all the Mogul's cuntry, but instead thereof in Cities, as also in some Villages, there are certain publick Buildings, called *Sarai*, built by some persons out of Charity, for the convenience of Strangers and Travellers, who were it not for those, would be forc'd to lie in the open Air. These are the *Caravanseras*, which have only the four walls, and a covering overhead ; so that to be accommodated therein, a Man must bring along with him what is not to be had there."¹⁶³ But all serais were not of this type as we learn from Nicholas Withington.

158. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 12.

159. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 405.

160. Tavernier's *Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 9.

161. *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton*, p. 138.

162. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 311.

163. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 65.

"Between Adgemere and Agra", he says, "at every ten courses (which is an ordinary days journeye) there is a serralia or place of lodging booth for man and horse, and hostesses to dresse our victuals if we please, paying a matter of 3*d.* both for horse and meate dressinge."¹⁶⁴ Peter Mundy also confirms that "Metrannes or Betearees are certen Women in all Saraes, that looke to the little roomes there and dresse the Servants meate, accomodateinge them with Cottes etts. needful to bee had ; of these some have 2, some 3 or 4 roomes a peece, for which in the morninge wee pay 1 pice or 2 pice each."¹⁶⁵ Tavernier describes another type of Serais. "The word sera", says he, "signifies a great enclosure of walls or hedges, within which 50 or 60 thatched huts are arranged all round. Here there are some men and women who sell flour, rice, butter, and vegetables who make it their business to prepare bread and cook rice. If by chance any Musalman arrives, he goes into the village to seek for a piece of mutton or a fowl, when those who supply the food to the traveller clean out for him the room which he wishes to occupy, and they place in it a small bed of girths, upon which he spreads the mattress which he carries with him on his journey."¹⁶⁶ But even the best equipped serai compared but ill with the village inns of Europe where a traveller could expect a comfortable bed, a cheery fire, a jug of ale and a roast joint of meat. Bernier complains, "The Eastern *Karavans-Serrah* resemble large barns, raised and paved all round, in the same manner as our Pont-neuf. Hundreds of human beings are seen in them, mingled with their horses, mules, and camels. In summer these buildings are hot and suffocating, and in winter nothing but the breath of so many animals prevents the inmates from dying of cold."¹⁶⁷ The picture is doubtless overdrawn, for the good Frenchman was pining for the excellent inns between Paris and Lyons. The inn and the serai were the inevitable products of the social customs prevailing in their respective regions and the oriental more accustomed to the open-air life did not find it inconvenient to sleep in the uncovered courtyard and the Hindu had necessarily to cook his own food, for in most cases the caste rules would not permit him to sit at a common table and be served by a common cook. But even such comforts as the serais afforded were not to be had everywhere. Peter Mundy says there was no serai between Agra and Ahmadabad¹⁶⁸ and at Mandu Sir Thomas Roe had to lodge in a ruined tomb where his peace and rest were nightly disturbed by a lion and a wolf.¹⁶⁹ In the Deccan, mosques and temples often offered shelter to the passing strangers.¹⁷⁰

In these days of high speed and quick transport an ox-drawn coach may be contemptuously dismissed as an antediluvian contrivance, slow, inconvenient and uncomfortable. In the seventeenth century the Indian ox was a noble animal fleet of foot, strong of limbs and inured to long

164. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 225.

165. *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II, p. 121.

166. Tavernier's *Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 45.

167. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p. 233.

168. *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II, p. 264.

169. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 365.

170. Tavernier's *Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 123.

journeys¹⁷¹ and the ox chariot was not deemed unworthy of royalty. The merry monarch Jahangir once had a joyride with his beloved Nurmahal "in open waggon," "drawne by bullocks, himselfe carter and no man neare",¹⁷² as Roe tells us. It may be argued that the cart was selected on this occasion more for fun than for comfort but Mundy once saw twenty "Coaches for the kinge's owne use, whereof 2 only were drawne by 2 horses" and "the rest by Oxen some of Extraordinarie greatnes, and some againe as little, chosen of purpose."¹⁷³ The English President at Surat sent an "Indian Coach, drawn by two white Oxen" to bring Mandelslo to his house¹⁷⁴ and when the German aristocrat visited Ahmadabad, Benjamin Roberts, the chief of the English factory there, came to receive him with his coach. "His Coach made after the *Indian* fashion, was gilt all over, covered with several pieces of *Persian* Tapistry, and drawn by two white Oxen, which express'd as much metal as we could have expected from the best Horses in Germany."¹⁷⁵ At another place Mandelslo writes, "In travelling through the Countrey, they make use of Camels, Mules, Horses and Oxen. They have also a kind of Coaches, for two or three persons, which are drawn by Oxen, whereto they are so accustomed, that they easily get ten or twelve leagues a day. The upper part of covering of these Coaches is of Cloath or Velvet; but those which carry Women are close of all sides."¹⁷⁶ Herbert mentions chariots drawn by buffaloes¹⁷⁷ and poorer people not infrequently rode buffaloes and oxen which Mandelslo found exceedingly uncomfortable.¹⁷⁸ But Tavernier thought otherwise. "Oxen," he says, "take the place of horses, and there are some of them whose paces are as easy as those of our hacks."¹⁷⁹ Wealthy people had of course more stately conveyances. They could travel in Palanquins and Chaudalas with greater ease and ride the elephant if they liked, but for the common folk and the ordinary traveller the homely cart was the coach *par excellence*. Pietro della Valle and his Mariucca travelled from Surat to Cambay in two of these country chariots and crossed a shallow part of the Gulf of Cambay at low tide without even wetting the floor,¹⁸⁰ for the water did not come above the belly of the big oxen. Pietro and the lady squatted inside their chariots in good Indian fashion but Downton's lack of care "in letting one legge hang out of the coach, and (in talke) moving it to and fro" almost cost him that limb.¹⁸¹ Coach oxen were not at all in-

171. According to the *Ain-i-Akbari* the Gujarat breed was the best "Though every part of the empire produces cattle of various kinds, those of Gujarat are the best. Sometimes a pair of them are sold at 100 muhurs. They will travel 80 kos in 24 hours and surpass even swift horses." Blochnian, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 149.

172. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 426.

173. *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II, p. 193.

174. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 12.

175. *Ibid*, p. 22.

176. *Ibid*, p. 65.

177. Herbert, *Some Yeare's Travels*, p. 42.

178. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 45.

179. Tavernier's *Travels in India*, Vol. I, pp. 35-36.

180. *Travels of Pietro della Valle*, Vol. I, p. 65.

181. *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton*, p. 141.

expensive, a pair cost Tavernier nearly 600 rupees but he warns the reader not to be surprised for some of them "make journeys lasting sixty days, at 12 or 15 leagues a day, and always at the trot."¹⁸² Bullock *jhatkas* or covered carts are still in common use in South India. One of the mural paintings in a building adjoining the great Shiva temple of Tanjore depicts a queen of the place seated on a chariot drawn by a pair of oxen.

The coaches naturally lead us to the roads some of which at least received high appreciation from foreign travellers. The highway from Agra to Lahore was by common consent the best in the country. Coryat was not a blind admirer of things Indian and he could claim to be a competent judge of roads as he had hiked through many countries of Europe and Asia. His admiration of this long avenue extending over hundreds of miles was as unbounded as genuine. "From the famous citie of Lahore I have twentie daies journey to another goodly citie, called Agra, through such a delicate and even tract of ground as I never saw before, and doubt whether the like bee to be found within the whole circumference of the habitable world. Another thing also in this way being no lesse memorable than the plainenesse of the ground; a row of trees on each side of this way where people doe travell, extending it selfe from the townes end of Lahore to the townes end of Agra; the most incomparable shew of that kinde that even my eies survaiued."¹⁸³ Herbert, while recording the distance from Agra to Lahore, does not forget to add "most of the way being through a shade of Trees."¹⁸⁴ Mandelslo found travelling from Agra to Lahore "so much the more pleasant, in that our way was but one continued Alley, drawn in a streight line, and planted on both sides with Date-trees, Palm-trees, *Cocos*-trees, and other kind of Fruit-trees, which gave us a continued refreshing shade against the heat of the Sun."¹⁸⁵ But other roads were not probably so good or so pleasant. In every likelihood the road from Agra to Lahore was better looked after for it was the king's highway *par excellence* being frequently used by the Emperor himself and his principal nobles. At the other extreme were rough tracks hardly deserving the name of public thoroughfares. Roe writes to Sir Thomas Smythe while in the entourage of the Emperor, "I am yet followeing this wandering King over mountaynes and through woods, so strange and unused wayes that his owne people, who almost know no other god, blasphemee his name and hers that (it is said) conducts all his actions."¹⁸⁶ Sometimes they had to "cutt the way through the woods, but with soe much trouble and inconvenience to the baggage that it was left behind."¹⁸⁷ But Jahangir was obviously travelling by unfrequented byeways or his nobles would not be cursing and grumbling.

In those days people had to travel in company and with guards, for the roads were not safe. Sometimes, the qafila or caravan would grow in

182. Tavernier's *Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 37.

183. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 244.

184. Herbert, *Some Yeares Travels*, p. 62.

185. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 45.

186. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 337.

187. *Ibid.*, p. 338.

size as it progressed, for fresh people would join it at different points for the security it offered. Peter Mundy says that a qafilla of moderate size that left Surat with fifteen to twenty coaches gradually swelled into a crowd of 250 to 300 carts by the time it reached Nandurbar and became all the more vulnerable as the rear had hardly any effective contact with the van.¹⁸⁸ The region from Surat to Cambay which Thevenot and Pietro della Valle covered at different dates was far from safe in the earlier decades of the seventeenth century. Downton heard of robbery and murder in the near neighbourhood of Broach.¹⁸⁹ He describes the road from Broach to Chormondo as "the most theveshest waie in those partes" and his party was provided with a guard of twenty five horsemen.¹⁹⁰ Downton was detained at Ahmadabad after obtaining the Governor's leave to depart, "but that night, divers beinge robbed and mured close by the cittie gates, order againe was given we should not departe untill such time as a sufficient garde was provided."¹⁹¹ Mandelslo says: "The Rasboutes make the way between *Amadabath* and *Cambaya* very dangerous, which made me take for my Convoy eight foot-souldiers arm'd with pikes and Bucklers. This kind of Souldiers do also the office of Lacqueys, running just before the Horses, and may be hired for a small matter; for I gave them but eight Crowns for the whole journey, though I had them three dayes in which time I travell'd thirteen of the Country Leagues."¹⁹² Once the highway-men extorted one hundred rupees from a qafilla that Mandelslo¹⁹³ met and on another occasion he encountered a party of Rajput robbers near Anklesar.¹⁹⁴ Peter Mundy describes the country between Agra and Ahmadabad as "Theivish" and heard of a number of robberies near Abu.¹⁹⁵ Three witnesses therefore agree that the country near about Ahmadabad was rather insecure.

Downton and Mandelslo had armed men to protect them and their goods against the predatory Rajputs and Kolis. Thevenot mentions another class of guards, the *Charans*, whose novel method of defence was quite as effective and could be purchased at two rupees a day. But the armed guards were not expensive either, as Mandelslo points out. As for their fidelity, Terry's testimony is quite conclusive. "I must needes commend the Mahumetans and Gentils for their good and faithfull service; amongst whom a stranger may travell alone, with a great charge of money or goods, quite through the countrey and take them for his guard, yet never be neglected or injured by them. They follow their masters on foote carrying swords and bucklers or bowes and arrows for their defence; and by reason of great plentie of provision in that kingdome, a man may hire them upon easie conditions, for they will not desire above five shillings

188. *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II, p. 45.

189. *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton*, pp. 25-26.

190. *Ibid*, p. 103.

191. *Ibid*, p. 113.

192. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 30.

193. *Ibid*, p. 35.

194. *Ibid*, p. 46.

195. *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II, pp. 264 and 246.

the moone, paide the next day after the change, to provide themselves all necessaries, and for it doe most diligent service."¹⁹⁶

But the Rajputs who extorted money from travellers in Gujarat and in the neighbouring regions were not necessarily common robbers. Many petty chieftains had their traditional right of levying tolls or transit duties on goods and men passing through their territories. Thevenot mentions the Grassia Raja who in lieu of the duties he received extended free hospitality to the caravan. The Rajputs of Champanir who infested the Broach-Baroda road owed no allegiance to the Emperor, as Mandelslo was told,¹⁹⁷ and were more like the bold barons of medieval Europe than the armed ruffians who stopped coaches on the King's highway. The garrison of an old castle near Baroda used to levy an impost of a Rupee and half per wagon and those who resisted the claim would no doubt be despoiled of their belongings.¹⁹⁸ Mandelslo also relates how a second band of the so called robbers lightly let off a Bania caravan when they were told that earlier a sum of one hundred rupees had been paid to another party of armed men.¹⁹⁹ In certain cases rebel leaders regularly collected *Zakat* or taxes from all passersby and Mundy tells us how near Sirohi his party had to halt one day "to pay our custome to Chanda."²⁰⁰ Similarly when customs were demanded of Mundy and his friends by Raja Shiv Das's men near Allahabad they vainly invoked the authority of the Emperor and his Viceroy on whom the most filthy abuses were showered.²⁰¹ Tavernier definitely states that "there are Rajas, or petty tributary Princes, who interfere with trade, each claiming that the goods ought to traverse his territory and pay him custom."²⁰² The powerful Zemindars, far away from the seat of imperial authority were at liberty to exercise their customary right of exacting tolls and transit duties and those who had the temerity of refusing their claims would naturally be relieved of all their earthly goods. But if the highways of India were not quite safe for lonely travellers in the seventeenth century conditions in other countries were not much better. About the same time Mundy found the country between Phillipopolis and Sophia particularly robber ridden²⁰³ and Des Hayes observes that in most parts of Serbia and Bulgaria villages had strong enclosures where people took shelter when robbers were about.²⁰⁴ About six miles from Chambéry Coryat passed a castle where all strangers had to pay a small sum. The city of Venice according to him was infested by armed ruffians at night. Similarly Coryat heard on his way to Abbeville in France that the forest of Veronne through which he had to travel had lurking in it "false knaves" who "suddenly set upon travellers."²⁰⁵ The town of Mirandula in Italy

196. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 313.

197. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 19.

198. Mandelslo's *Travels*, p. 21.

199. *Ibid*, p. 35.

200. *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II, pp. 258-259.

201. *Ibid*, p. 118.

202. Tavernier's *Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 31.

203. *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. I, p. 61.

204. *Ibid*, pp. 205-206.

205. *Coryat's Crudities*, Vol. I, p. 160.

was "very desolate and unpeopled: the reason is, because the Bandits which are the murdering robbers upon the Alps, and many places of Italy, make their aboad in it as it were their safe sanctuary and refuge, where they live in the castle of the Towne, who because they doe often times violently break out upon the townsmen and other passengers, depriving them both of life and goods, they minister such occasion of feare to the inhabitants, that there dwell but few people in the towne."²⁰⁶ Coryat further states that it was not wise to take more than a specified sum of money to some parts of Italy. "At the townes end certain searchers examined us for money, according to a custome that is used in many other townes and cities in Italy. For if a man carry more money about him then is warranted or allowed in the country, it is ipso facto confiscated to the Prince or Magistrate, in whose territory a man is taken."²⁰⁷

The seventeenth was a century of war and turmoil both in Europe and in India, law and order could not be as strictly enforced then as in later times, and that sense of citizenship which alone ensures social security was yet to be developed. The arm of the state was nowhere long enough to reach every corner of the country. The Rajputs and Kolis who have been indiscriminately classed as robbers or highwaymen really took advantage of the weakness of the administration. They fall under three categories, chieftains exercising hereditary rights of levying tolls, rebels blackmailing the defenceless travellers, and petty princes in the role of the guardians of peace, like the Grassias and the Koli rajas, forcing merchants and travellers to purchase their protection and forbearance. Besides them there was the ordinary highwayman who terrorised the countryside. But on the whole conditions in many parts of India permitted organised bands of merchants and travellers to move about in comparative safety. We must not forget that Thevenot traversed the Deccan when the Maratha menace was still unabated and Careri passed through the southern Maratha country when the Moghul and the Marathas were engaged in a life and death struggle. It also appears that the highroads of Gujarat had become safer since the days of Downton and Mandelslo for Pietro della Valle and Thevenot hardly encountered any danger on their journey from Surat to Cambay. Oaten's remarks are not unworthy of consideration when he says: "From one point of view there is nothing that gives us such an insight into the comparatively high state of civilisation in India during the medieval period as the immunity with which strangers from a foreign country were able to take their women-folk with them on their travels in India. In the fifteenth century we saw Conti doing so with perfect safety; at the beginning of the seventeenth Pietro della Valle supplies us with a second example. Had the positions been reversed and an Indian traveller attempted to travel with his family through any of the more civilised countries of Europe between the beginning of the fifteenth and the close of the sixteenth century, it is doubtful whether the treatment he would have received would have been in any way comparable to that which the

206. *Coryat's Crudities*, Vol. I, p. 261.

207. *Ibid*, p. 227.

natives of India, Hindu and Mohammedan alike, meted out to their 'Feringhi' visitors."²⁰⁸

Terry also testifies to the civility of the common people and the general security of the road. "The truth is," he says, "that the people there in general are very civil, and we never had any affronts or ill usage from them, if we did not first provoke them." Unfortunately such provocations were not always wanting though ruffled tempers did not ordinarily lead to any untoward result if amends were made in time. Terry cites three such cases. Sir Thomas Roe had brought with him an English cook to Surat. The day he arrived at the port the cook found his way to an Armenian's house and got drunk. While "stagging homeward" he met the governor's brother and reviled him as a "heathen dog." That gentleman not understanding the language enquired what he said. "The cook answered him with his sword and scabbard, with which he struck at him." He was immediately seized, disarmed and lodged in the local gaol but was sent home unpunished when the ambassador "sent word unto the governor's brother that he was not come hither to patronise any disorderly person, and therefore desired him to do with him what he pleased." On another occasion an Englishman who claimed to know the country and its people better had brought troubles on Terry's party by his unwarranted rudeness. "In our journey towards the Court (after we had been in our way about seven days from Surat) we rested at a place called Ditat, where many of the inhabitants offered to guard us and our goods, though we (observing there was no danger) desired it not, but they would do it, and in the morning expected and asked something of us by way of recompense. One of our company (who had been in East-India a year or two before) told them, that what they had done they did without our desire, and therefore they should have nothing from us, but some ill language, which he then gave them. We set forward in the morning, according to our wonted custom ; they followed after us, to the number at the least of three hundred men, (for the place was great and populous) and when we were gone about a mile from that town, stopped our carriages ; he of our company who told them they should have no recompense, was presently ready to shoot at them with his musket, which made them all to bend their bows at us." The impending disaster was however averted by Terry's intervention, and a few kind words with a paltry present (worth three shillings of English money) sufficed to put the angry mob in a better mood and they left with mutual good wishes. The third trouble was caused by a young man of aristocratic birth who had proved a disgrace to his family and had been sent to the east to die of drink or hardwork. He whipped a servant of Prince Khurram for refusing to hold his horse and again "with a little money, and great many good words, we so quieted this man, that we never after heard any more complaining from him. So that, as I before observed, we were not at any time in any dangers of suffering by that people, but some of our own nation was the procuring cause of it." It is presumed that too many

scapegraces were not sent abroad to save troubles at home and such instances as Terry recorded were by no means common.²⁰⁹

X

Everything taken into consideration the foreign travellers had one great advantage over the chroniclers of the court. Having nothing to fear or to expect from the powers that were they could fearlessly tell the unvarnished truth regardless of official frowns and favours. Having come from other lands they recorded with meticulous care matters seemingly unimportant which a native of India would have ordinarily dismissed as commonplace. But they had their limitations as well. Their knowledge of the country and its people was in most cases superficial and the value of their accounts necessarily depended upon the sources of their information. They suffered from the common credulity of their age and they were not always in a position to verify or test the accuracy of what they were told. Their veracity is not to be questioned but we need not accept anything on trust. No authority can be more reliable than his sources and in assessing the historical merit of Thevenot and Careri's travels we should always bear this salutary principle in mind. Their learning, their integrity, their sincerity are not suspected. Yet we may not be able to accept all their statements as equally authentic without a sifting enquiry as to their sources that may not always be equally irreproachable. This is however not to minimise the value of foreign travellers' accounts of India. As a contemporary source of Indian history they will always remain indispensable, but what cannot be dispensed with is not necessarily infallible.

209. Terry, *Voyage to East India* (London 1655), pp. 160-69.

THE
THIRD PART
INDIAN TRAVELS OF THEVENOT

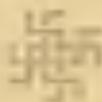
TRAVELS
OF
MR. de Thevenot.



THE
THIRD PART
OF THE
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Mr. de Thevenot,

CONTAINING

The Relation of *Indostan*, the *New Moguls*,
and of other People and Countries
of the *Indies*.





M. de Thevenot

VOYAGES
DE M^R
DE THEVENOT.

CONTENANT LA RELATION
de l'Indostan , des nouveaux Mogols ,
& des autres Peuples & Pays des Indes.



A PARIS,
Chez La VEUVE BIESTKINS , rue de la Harpe,
à l'Imprimerie des Roziers.

M. DC. LXXXIV.

Avec Privilege du Roy.

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OF THE
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BOOK I

CHAPTER I

ARRIVAL, AT SURRAT

I set out from *Balsora*¹ in the Ship *Hopewel*,² the sixth of *November*, 1665, six Days before³ the beginning of the *Monson*,⁴ and the tenth of *January* 1666, arrived at the Bar of *Surrat*;⁵ Bar of *Surrat*. so that I had above two Months Voyage of it. That place which is about six French Leagues from *Surrat*, is called, the Bar, because of the many Sand-banks that hinder great Ships from entering the River, before they be unloaded; and the proper season for Sailing on the Indian-Sea, is called *Mousson* or *Monson*, by corruption of *Mousssem*. I have mention'd in the *Monson*. Second Part of my Travels, that that season wherein there is a constant Trade-Wind upon that Sea, begins commonly at the end of October; that it lasts to the end of *April*, and that that is the time to go from *Persia* to the *Indies*, if one would avoid the Tempests.

Next Day, being the Eleventh, about half an hour after two a Clock⁶ in the Morning, I went with the rest of the Passengers into a Boat, and at Eight at Night we arrived before *Surrat*, near to the Custom-house, where coming to an Anchor, I past the Night in the Boat; and next Day, the twelfth of *January*, about ten of the Clock in the Morning the Custom-house being open, our Boat upon the signal given, put in to

Land as near as it could : From thence we were carried ashore upon Mens backs, who came up to the middle⁷ in the Water to take us up, and immediately⁸ we were led into a large Court ; having crossed it, we entred into a Hall, where the Customer waited for us, to have us searched.

A strict search.

Visited⁹ we were ; but in so severe and vexatious a manner, that tho' I did expect it, and had prepared my self for it before hand, yet I had hardly patience enough to suffer the Searchers to do whatsoever they had a mind to, tho' I had nothing about me but my Cloaths ; and indeed, it is incredible what caution and circumspection those People use to prevent being cheated. And in this manner they proceed.¹⁰

The Bar is six Leagues from the Town.

So soon as a Ship comes to an Anchor at the *Bar*, the Master is oblig'd to to go ashore in his Boat, and acquaint the Custom-house with his arrival, and presently¹¹ he is search'd from Head to Foot, at the same time a Waiter¹² is sent on board the Vessel, to hinder them from breaking bulk, running any thing ashore, or on board another Ship that hath been already searched ; and in the mean time, if they have still time enough, they send off several Barks to bring the Men and Goods ashore to the Custom-house. The Waiter¹³ has for his dues from every Passenger an *Abassy*¹⁴ which is worth about eighteen Pence ; and the Bark has half a *Roupie* a Head, that is, about fifteen Pence for the passage. If when the Passengers come to the Town, the Custom-house be not as yet shut, they presently¹⁵ come ashore ; but if it be, they must tarry in the Bark : In the mean while it is never open but from ten in the Morning till Noon,¹⁶ and it requires a whole Tide to come from the Bar to the Town, unless by good luck one have the Wind and Tide with him.

Abassy 18 pennce.
Half a *Roupie* 15 pence.

Seeing the rest of the Day and all the following Night are to be spent in the Bark, Waiters are set over it, Who keep constant Watch to see that none enter in or go out. When the Custom-house is opened, and the Passengers suffered to come ashore, then double diligence is used, and the number of Waiters encreased. One¹⁷ Bark advances at a time, and the¹⁸ lands just against the Custom-house Gate which is upon the Key.¹⁹

There is a *Kiochh*,²⁰ or covered Pavillion, where Sentinels are placed to observe and view all that goes in or comes out of the Bark ; and the Custom-house Porters go into the Water, and bring the Men and Goods ashore upon their Backs.

Pions.

In the mean time, there are upon the River-side, a great number of *Pions*,²¹ who are Men ready to be employ'd in any kind of Service, and to be hired by the Day, if one pleases, as the *Staffieri*²² in Italy are. These *Pions* of the Custom-house have great Canes in their Hands to keep off the People with,

that those who come ashore may not have the least communication with any body ; and for the greater security, they draw up in both sides, and make a Lane for the Passengers. This is no inconsiderable service to new comers, for if any body came near them, they would certainly be accused of smuggling Goods ; and then besides the Caning they would be expos'd to, they must also expect to be roundly fined, and some have been fined in above Ten thousand Livres,²³ though, in reality they had not saved a bit of Goods. And, indeed, they who have a mind to conceal any thing, and defraud the Custom-house, order their Affairs more truly :²⁴ They stay not²⁵ till they come to *Surrat*, there to beg the assistance of their Friends. I have known some bring in a great many precious Stones, and other rich Jewels, which the Officers of the Custom-house never saw, nor got one Farthing by, because the Dutch Commander was their Friend, and had assisted them.

From that Court of the Custom-house, one is led into the Hall, where the chief Customer sits on his *Divan*,²⁶ after the manner of the Orientals, and his Clerks underneath him. I shall say nothing of the *Indian Divans* in this place, because they are like to those of *Turky* and *Persia*. The Passengers enter into that place one after another, and but one at a time. Presently²⁷ they write down in a Register the name of him that enters, and then he is searched. He must take off his Cap or Turban, his Girdle, Shoes, Stockins, and all the rest of his Cloaths, if the Searchers think fit. They feel his Body all over ; and handle every the least inch of stuff about him with all exactness if they perceive any thing hard in it, they immediately rip it up, and all that can be done, is to suffer patiently. That search is long, and takes up above a quarter of an Hour for every Person severally, though at that time they only examine what they have about them. If they find Gold or Silver, they take two and a half *per cent.* and give back the rest ;²⁸ then the partie is let go, but must leave his Goods and Baggage. He that hath been searched marches out by the Wicket of a Gate that opens into the Street, where there is a Guard that suffers him not to pass without Orders from the Customer.

Next Day, all who have left their Goods or Baggage, fail not to come to the same Gate. The Customer comes also about ten of the Clock in the Morning, and having considered whether the Seal which the Day before he put upon two great Padlocks that hold the great Gate and Wicket shut, be whole or not, he causes both to be opened. He and his Men go in ; the Gate is shut again, and the Wicket only left open. So all wait without till they be called in ; and it was my good fortune to be introduc'd with the first.

What is
pay'd at
the Custom-
house.

They presently²⁹ bid me own what belong'd to me, and my Cloakbags being brought into the middle of the Hall, they were opened and emptied ; every thing was examined one after another : Though I had no Merchant-goods, yet all was searched; my Quilt was ript up, they undid the Pommel of one of my Pistols, with Pegs of Iron felt in the Holsters ; and the Clerks at length, being satisfied with the view of my things, I was let go, and pay'd only Custom for my Money. It was no small fortune for me to be so soon dispatched ; for Men may wait sometimes a Month before they can get out their Baggage, and especially they who have Merchants-goods, for which at that Custom-house they pay Four in the Hundred, if they be Christians, and Five in the Hundred if they be *Banians*.³⁰

CHAPTER II

OF THE INDIES

The limits
of *India*.

Before I enter into a particular Description of what I have seen in the *Indies*, it is necessary for the understanding of the Country, that I describe the Limits thereof, and say somewhat of their Extent. If one would comprehend in the *Indies* all the Countries which to the *West* border on the Provinces of *Macran*,¹ or *Sinde*,² *Candahar* and *Kaboul* ;³ to the *North*, or⁴ *Tartary* ; to the *East*, on *China* and the *Sea* ; and to the *South*, on the *Ocean*, there is no doubt but that so great a number of Kingdoms and Provinces must make a very vast Country : But it may be truly said, that to the *East* the extent of it, (which is very large) is not as yet well known, seeing the Traders of *Indostan*, who traffick in *China*, spend above a Year in Travelling from their own Country into that ; and that long Journey is a good Argument that there are several Kingdoms betwixt the *Great Mogul's* Country, and that of the Emperour of *China*.

The Division of the
Limits of
Indostan.

In the usual Division of the *Indies*, that Eastern part is called *India* beyond the *Ganges*⁵, as the *Western* is named *India* on this side of *Ganges*. This latter part is best known, and is called *Indostan*⁶, having for its natural Limits to the *West* and *East*, the *Ganges* and *Indus*, which have their Sources⁷ in the Mountains of *Zagatay*⁸ and *Turquestan*. These two last Countries border *Indostan* on the North-side, as the Indian-Sea limits it on the *South*, round the Cape of *Comory*⁹, from the Mouths of *Ganges* to those of *Indus*.

The Source
of *Ganges*.

The Empire of the *Great Mogul* which in particular is called *Mogulistan* is the largest and most powerful Kingdom

of the *Indies* ; and the Forces of the other Kings of *Indostan* ought the less to be compared to his, that most of them are in some dependance on that Prince. I shall write what I know of their Kingdoms, when I have treated of his and of himself.

CHAPTER III

OF THE GREAT MOGUL

The *Great Mogul*¹ descends in direct line from *Tamerlan*,² whose Successours that settled in the *Indies*, took to themselves the Name of *Moguls*, that they might be distinguished from those to whom that Prince left *Zagatay*, *Corassan*,³ *Persia*, and other Countries to be Governed after him. They thought that that Name might contribute much to the Glory of their Family, because by taking it they would more easily perswade Men, that they are of the Race of *Ginguis Can*,⁴ the First Emperour of the Ancient *Moguls*, who had carried it above Twelve Ages⁵ before them, and who under that Title began the Greatest and most Powerful Empire in the World. *Ginguis Can.*

Mogul was heretofore the Name of a mighty People, who inhabited a vast Country at the extremity of East *Tartary*, towards the North, which some have called *Mogul*, others *Mongul* and *Mongal*, and others *Mogulistan*, where *Ginguis Can* was Born. That Emperour or Great *Chan*, reduced it wholly under his Obedience, before he undertook the Conquest of the rest of *Asia* ; and his Subjects, as well as he, were called *Moguls*. This gave occasion to those of *India*, to take the same Name, thereby to signifie that they are descended from him. *Mogul.*

As for the Genealogy of *Tamerlan*, it must be examined some where else than in the relation of Travels, if one would know the truth of it, because of the diversity of opinions that are to be found amongst the Oriental writers upon that subject. *Tamerlan.*

Tamerlan had already given great jealousy to the Indians, by Conquering the Province of *Gazna*,⁶ which had been sometimes in their dependance, though lying a great deal on this side of the *Indies*, and which in his own lifetime was Possessed by *Pir Muhemmed*,⁷ Son of his Eldest Son *Gayeteddin* ;⁸ but when *Mirza Baber*, who descended from the Third Son of that Emperour,⁹ retreated thither after the loss of *Maurenahor*¹⁰ or *Zagatay*, he bestirred himself so well in settling his Dominion there, as he did in some other Countries of the *Indies* that lay next to him, and were,¹¹ according to the *Lebeltaric*,¹² (he Reigned Fourty three Years,) that his Son *Humayon* had no *Pir-Muhem-med. Gayeteddin. Mirza Baber. Humayon.*

great difficulty to get Footing in *Indostan* after the death of his Father, which happened in the Year 1530. and who had already made some unsuccessful attempts in that Country.

This young Prince made himself Master of *Candahar*, *Caboul*, and many other Towns, the greatest part whereof he lost sometime after by the Valour of *Chaalem*¹³ King of *Bengale* and *Deran*;¹⁴ but he recovered them in process of time by the means of *Tahmas*¹⁵ Kings of *Persia*, whose Sister he Married, and having carried his Conquest farther on, he made *Delhy*¹⁵ the Capital of his Kingdom.

Ecbar. His Son *Ecbar*¹⁷ Succeeded him ; and having joyned a great many Provinces of *Indostan* to those which his Father left him, died in the Year 1604.¹⁸

Gehanguir. *Selim* his Eldest Son, was immediately Crowned by the Name of *Gehanguir*;¹⁹ and having Reigned Three and twenty Years, and enlarged the Conquest, he died in the Year 1627.

Bulloquoy. After his death, his Grandson *Boulloquoy*²⁰ Reigned about Three Months, but he was strangled by Order of *Sultan Corom*,²¹ a Rebel Son of *Gehanguir*, who having made sure of the Empire, took to himself the Name of *Chagehan*²² in the Year 1628.

Seeing Blood and Rebellion raised him to the Throne, he had experience of the same disorders amongst his Children,²³ which he had caused to his Father ; for through their jealousie his Empire was almost always in confusion, and at length fell into the hands of *Auranzeb*²⁴ the Third of his Four Sons, who Reigns at present.

Auranzeb. In mounting to the Throne, this Prince imitated the crimes of his Father ; for he put to death *Dara* his Eldest Brother, imprisoned *Mourad*²⁵ his other Brother who confided in him, and clapt up his own Father in Prison, who died Five or Six Years after, about the end of the Year 1666.

The death of Chagehan. The *Great Mogul* is certainly a most Powerful Prince, as we may Judge by his Riches, Armies, and the number of People that are within the extent of his Empire. His yearly Revenues, they say, mount to above Three hundred and thirty French Millions.²⁶ The *Canon Name*,²⁷ which is a Register containing a List of his Forces, makes it appear, that that Prince entertains Three hundred thousand Horse,²⁸ of which betwixt Thirty and Thirty five thousand, with ten thousand Foot are for a Guard to his Person both in time of Peace and War, and are commonly quartered in those places where he keeps his Court. This Empire extends from East to West above Four hundred Leagues, and from North to South above Five hundred, and that vast space, (excepting some Mountains and Deserts,) is so full of Towns, Castles, Burroughs and Villages, and by consequence of Inhabitants who till the Land,

The Power of the Mogul.

The Registered Forces of the Mogul.

or improve it by manufactures, and the commerce which that Country affords, that it is easie to judge of the Power of the King who is Master thereof.

The true bounds of his Empire are to the West, *Macran* or *Sinde* and *Candahar* ; to the East, it reaches beyond the Ganges ; to the South it is limited by *Decan*, the great Sea and the Gulf of *Bengale* ; and to the North by the *Tartars*. The exaggeration of many Travellers, concerning the extent of the Countries of this great King of the *Indies*, was the cause that I made it my business to consult the most knowing Men, that I might learn what they thought of the greatness of it, and what now I write is their Opinion.

The bounds
of
Mogulistan.

They affirm not as some do, that when the *Mogul* makes War, he sends Three hundred thousand Horse into the field. They say, indeed, that he pays so many ; but seeing the chief Revenues, or to say better, the rewards of the Great Men, consist particularly in the pay which they have for more or fewer Troopers, it is certain that they hardly keep on Foot one half of the Men they are appointed to have ; so that when the Great *Mogul* marches upon any expedition of War, his Army exceeds not an Hundred and fifty thousand Horse, with very few Foot, though he have betwixt Three and four hundred thousand Mouths in the Army.

The true
Forces of
the *Mogul*.

Besides, I was informed by any Indian who pretends to know the Map of his Country, that they reckon no more but twenty Provinces²⁹ within the extent of *Mogulistan* in the Indies, and that they who have reckoned more, have not been well informed of their number, since of one Province they have made two or three.

This Indian had a list of the Princes Revenues calculated for the twenty Provinces, and I made no doubt of the truth of his System ; but I had rather call them Governments, and say that every Government contains several Provinces. I shall observe the Revenues of the Governments, in the Discription I give of them, and shall call each Government a Province, that I may not vary from the memoires which I have ; and as I entered the Indies by the Province of *Guzerat*, so I shall describe it before the others.

Twenty Pro-
vinces or
Governments
in *Mogulis-
tan*.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROVINCE OF GUZERAT

Guzerat.

The Province of *Guzerat*,¹ which was heretofore a Kingdom, fell into the Possession of the *Great Mogul Ecbar*, about the year 1565.² He was called into it by a great Lord,³ to whom the King of *Guzerat*, *Sultan Mamoet*⁴ gave the general Government thereof, when being near his death, he trusted him with the tuition and regency of his only Son, in the Year 1545, or 1546 during the Reign of *Humayon* the Father of *Ecbar*.

Government.

The ambition of that Governour who was envied by all the great Men⁵ of the Kingdom of *Guzerat*, that were his declared Enemies, and against whom he resolved to maintain himself at the cost of his own lawful Prince, made him betake himself to the King *Mogul*, under pretext of soliciting his protection for his Pupil named *Mudafer*,⁶ who was already of Age,⁷ but not yet of sufficient Authority to maintain his Guardian against the faction of the great Men whom he had provoked.

Mudafer
King of
Guzerat.

Ecbar seizes
Guzerat.

Ecbar entered *Guzerat* with an Army, and subdued all those who offered to make head against him, and whom the Governour accused of being Enemies to his King: But instead of being satisfied with one Town⁸ which with its Territories had been promised him, he seized the whole Kingdom, and made the King and Governour Prisoners. That unfortunate Prince being never after able to recover it again; not but that having made his escape, he attempted once again to have reestablished himself,⁹ but his efforts were in vain, for he was overcome, and made Prisoner a second time, so that despair at length made him destroy himself.

Mudafer
kills him-
self.

Guzerat a
pleasant
Province.

This is the pleasantest Province of *Indostan*, though it be not the largest. The *Nardaba*, *Tapty*,¹⁰ and many other Rivers that water it, render it very fertile, and the Fields of *Guzerat* look green in all the seasons of the Year, because of the Corn and Rice that cover them, and the various kinds of Trees, which continually bear Fruit.

The Ports
Surrat and
Cambaye.

The most considerable part of *Guzerat* is towards the Sea, on which the Towns of *Surrat* and *Cambaye*¹¹ stand, whose Ports are the best of all *Mogulistan*. But seeing *Amedabad* is the Capital Town of the Province, it is but reasonable we should treat of it before we speak of the rest.

Departure
from *Surrat*
to *Ameda-
bad*.

The Boats
on the

February the First I parted from *Surrat* to go to that Town, and going out at *Baroche Gate*,¹² I marched streight North. Two hours after I crossed the River *Tapty*, in a Boat big enough, but very inconvenient for taking in of Chariots, because the sides of it were two foot high. Eight Men were

forced to carry mine, after they had taken out the Oxen, and I was about half an hour in crossing that River. I continued my journey by the Town of *Beriao*,¹³ the River of *Kim*,¹⁴ which I crossed with the same trouble that I had done the *Tapty*, by the Town *Ouclysser*,¹⁵ the River of *Nerdaba*, and at length I arrived at the Town of *Baroche*, which is distant from *Surrat* and the Sea, Twenty *Cosses* which makes about Ten French Leagues, because a *Cosse*¹⁶ which is a Measure amongst the Indians for the distance of places, is about half a League.

Tapty in-commodious.
Beriao a Town.
Kim a River.
Ouclysser a Town.
Nerdaba a River.
Cosse.

*Baroche*¹⁷ lies in 21 degrees 55 minutes North Latitude. The fortress of *Baroche* is large and square, standing on a Hill, which makes it to be seen at a great distance. It is one of the chief strengths of the Kingdom, and had heretofore a very large Jurisdiction. The Town lies upon the side,¹⁸ and at the foot of the Hill, looking towards the River of *Nerdaba*. It is environed with Stone-Walls about three Fathom high, which are flanked by large round Towers at Thirty or Thirty five Paces distance one from another. The *Bazards*¹⁹ or Market-places are in a great Street at the foot of the Hill ; and there it is that those Cotten-Stuffs are made, which are called *Baftas*,²⁰ and which are sold in so great plenty in the *Indies*.

Baroche.
Baftas.

The Hill being high and hard to be mounted, it might be a very easie matter to put the fortress in a condition not to fear any Attack, but at present it is so much slighted, that there are several great breaches in the Walls²¹ to the Land side, which no body thinks of repairing. In that Town there are *Mosques* and *Pagodes*,²² that's to say, Temples of the Heathen, as well above as below. The River-water is excellent for whitening of Cloaths, and they are brought from all parts to be whitened there. There is little or no other Trade there, but of Agates ; but most of those are Sold at *Cambaye*. There is great abundance of Peacocks in the Country about *Baroche*.²³ The Dutch have a Factor²⁴ there for the quick dispatch and clearing at the Custom-house, the other sorts of Cloaths that come from *Amedabad* and elsewhere, because since all Goods must pay duties²⁵ as they enter and come out of *Baroche*, there would always happen confusion, if the care of that were referred to the carriers who transport them.

Peacocks at *Baroche*.

Leaving *Baroche*, I continued my Journey Northwards, to the little Town of *Sourban*,²⁶ which is seven Leagues distant from *Baroche*, and then having crossed the Brook *Dader*,²⁷ and several Villages, I arrived at *Debca*²⁸ which lies on the side of a Wood seven Leagues from *Sourban*. The inhabitants of this Town were formerly such as are called *Merdi-Coura* or *Anthrophagi*,²⁹ Man-eaters, and it is not very many Years since Mans flesh was there publickly sold in the Markets. That place seems to be a nest of Robbers ; the Inhabitants who are

Anthrophagi.

for the most part Armed with Swords, are a most impudent sort of People: In what posture soever you be, they continually stare you in the Face, and with so much boldness, that let one say what he pleases to them, there is no making of them to withdraw: Passengers that know them, are always upon their Guard, nay, and are obliged to carry a Lance with them, when they go to do their needs.

Petnad.

Next day we parted from thence and went to *Petnad*,³⁰ a little Town seven Leagues and a half from *Debca*, and arrived there, having first past the Gulf or River of *Mai*,³¹ where there is a Watch to secure the Rode.³² We found in our way two great *Tanquiez*³³ and a great number of Monkies of an extraordinary bigness. These *Tanquiez* are standing Ponds or reservations³⁴ of Rain-water; there are many of them in the *Indies*, and commonly there is great care taken in looking after them, because Wells being rare in that Country, there is an extream need of these publick reservatories, by reason of the continual thirst which the heat causes in all Animals there, and some of them are as big as Lakes or large Ponds.

Tanquiez.

An account of the Road from *Surrat* to *Amedabad*.

One must go out by *Baroche* gate and cross the River of *Tapti* a league and a half from *Surrat*.

Next we came to the Town of *Sousentra*,³⁵ where we say a very lovely Well, which I shall not describe in this place, because it is almost like to that of *Amedabad*, whereof I shall speak in its proper place. From thence we went to *Mader*³⁶ which is six Leagues and a half from *Petnad*. Upon the Road we saw an infinite number of Apes of all sorts, not only upon the Trees in the Fields, but even those also by the way side, which were not in the least afraid of any body. I severall times endeavoured to make them flie with my Arms, but they stirr'd not, and cried their *pou pou* like mad, which is, as I think, the *houp houp* of which *Monsieur de la Boulaye*³⁷ speaks.

There is a great Wartree³⁸ four leagues from *Surrat* where one may repose. *Kim* a River. *Ouclysser* a Town. *Nerdaba* a River are to be past, and then one comes to *Baroche*, 10 leagues from *Surrat*. *Sourban* a Town 7 leagues from *Baroche*. *Dader* a River or Brook. *Debca* 7 leagues from *Sourban*. *Mai* a River. *Petnad* 7 leagues and a half from *Debca*. *Sousentra* a Town. *Mader* 6 leagues and a half from *Petnad*. *Matrous* a River.

Gitbag 5 leagues from *Mader*.

We went next to *Gitbag*,³⁹ five Leagues from *Mader*, we met a great many *Colies*,⁴⁰ which are a People of a *Caste* or tribe of Gentiles, who have no fixed Habitation, but wander from Village to Village, and carry all they have about with them. Their chief business is to pick and clean the Cotten, and when they have no more to do in one Village they go to another. In this Village of *Gitbag*, there is a pretty handsome Garden of the Kings: I walked in it; it lies along the side of a reservatory, and I saw a great many Monkies and Peacocks therein. The dwelling which remains appears to have been



The sepulchre of Shah Alam at Sarkhej



handsome, but it is let run to ruin ; and a Royal-house, not far off, is in very bad repair also. It is but two Leagues and a half from *Gitbag* to *Amedabad*.

Amedabad
two Lea-
gues from
Gitbag.

CHAPTER V

OF AMEDABAD

Amedabad is distant from *Surat* fourscore and six Cossess, which make about forty three French Leagues. It is not improbable but that this Capital of *Guzerat* is the *Amadavistis* of *Arian*,¹ though modern Writers say, That it hath its name from a King called *Ahmed* or *Amed*,² who caused it to be rebuilt, and that it was called *Guzerat*^{2a} as well as the Province, before that King reigned. King *Chagehan* named it *Guerdabad*,³ the Habitation of Dust, because there is always a great deal there. This Governour of the Province has his residence in it, and he is commonly a Son of the *Great Mogul* ; but at present a great *Omra* called *Muhabbat-Can*⁴ is the Governour ; and the Kings of *Guzerat* resided there also, before King *Ecar* seized it.

Amedabad
the Capital
of *Guzerat*.

Guerdabad.

This Town lies in twenty three Degrees and some Minutes North-Latitude.⁵ It is built in a lovely Plain, and Watered by a little River called *Sabremetty*,⁶ not very deep, but which in the time of the Rains prodigiously overflows the Plains.⁷ There you may see many large Gardens, enclosed with Brick-walls, and which have all a kind of Pavillion at the entry. After that I saw a very spacious Reservatory,⁸ that hath in the middle a lovely Garden fourscore Paces square, into which one enters by a Bridge four hundred Paces long, and at the end of the Garden there are pretty convenient Lodgings.

The Scitua-
tion of
Amedabad.
Sabremetty
a River.

A Reserva-
tory of
Water, with
a Garden in
the middle.

Then you see several Houses here and there, which makes, as it were, a great Village, and a great many Tombs⁹ indifferently well built. This might be called an Out Suburbs, because, from thence one enters by a Postern into a Street with Houses on each side, which leads streight into the Town, and is on that side the true Suburbs of *Amedabad*.

The Town is enclosed with Stone and Brick-walls, which at certain distances are flanked with great round Towers and Battlements all over. It hath twelve Gates, and about a League and a half in its greatest length, if you take in the Suburbs. It is one of the places of *Guzerat* that is most carefully kept in order, both as to its Walls and Garrison, because it lies most conveniently for resisting the incursions of some neighbouring Rajas. They are afraid particularly of the Inrodes of the *Raja*

The Walls
and Towers
of *Ameda-
bad*.

MS. 10. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Raja of
Badur.

of *Badur*,¹⁰ who is powerful by reason of the Towns and Castles which he hath in the Mountains, and which are not accessible but by narrow passes that can be most easily defended. King *Ecbar* used all endeavours during the space of seven Years to ruin that *Raja*; but he could not accomplish it, and was forced to make Peace with him. However his People are always making Incursions, and he comes off by disowning them. His usual Residence is in the Province of *Candich*.¹¹

Dutch in
Amedabad.

So soon as I arrived at *Amedabad*, I went to lodge in *Quervanseray*,¹² where I found the Monument of the Wife of a King of *Guzerat*:¹³ After I had taken a little repose there, I went to see the Dutch Factors, for whom I had Letters from the Commander of *Surrat*. They detain'd me, and no excuse would serve, but that I must needs lodge with them; nay, they were so kind, as to accompany me by turns to all the places of *Amedabad*, wither my Curiosity led me: They are lodged in the fairest and longest Street of the Town. All the Streets of *Amedabad* are wide, but this is at least thirty Paces over, and at the *West* end of it there are three large Arches that take up its whole breadth.

The Meidan
of *Ameda-
bad*.

Going from their Lodgings, one enters by these high Arches into the *Meidan-Chah*,¹⁴ which signifies the Kings Square. It is a long Square having four hundred Paces in breadth, and seven hundred in length, with Trees planted on all sides. The Gate of the Castle is on the *West* side, opposite to the three Arches,¹⁵ and the Gate of the *Quervanseray* on the *South*. On the same side there are six or seven pieces of Canon mounted, and on the other, some more great Gates which are at the Head of pretty fair Streets. In this *Meidan* there are several little square Buildings about three Fathom high, which are Tribunals for the *Cotoual*,¹⁶ who is the Criminal Judge. In the middle of the place there is a very high Tree, purposely planted for the exercise of those who learn to shoot with the Bow, and who with their Arrows strive to hit a Ball which for that end is placed on the top of the Tree.

The Castle
of *Ameda-
bad*.

Having viewed the *Meidan*, we entered the Castle by a very high Gate, which is betwixt two large round Towers about eight fathom high. All the Appartments of it signifie but little,¹⁷ though the Castle be walled about with good Walls of Freestone, and is as spacious as a little Town.

The fair
*Quervan-
seray* of the
Meidan of
Amedabad.

The *Quervanseray* in the *Meidan*, contributes much to the beautifying of that place. Its Front is adorned with several Lodges and Balcony's supported by Pillars, and all these Balcony's which are of Stone, are delicately cut to let in the Light. The entry is a large eight-square¹⁸ Porch arched over like a Dome, where you may find four Gates, and see a great many Balcony's: These Gates open into the body of the

Building, which is a Square of Freestone two Stories high, and varnished over like Marble, with Chambers on all sides, where Strangers may lodge.

Near the *Meidan*, is a Palace belonging to the King, which hath over the Gate a large Balcony for the Musicians, who with their Pipes, Trumpets, and Hoboys, come and play there, in the Morning, at Noon, in the Evening, and at Midnight. In the Apartments thereof there are several Ornaments of Foliages, where Gold is not spared. The English Factory is in the middle of the Town. They are very well lodged, and have fair Courts. Their Ware-houses commonly are full of the Cloaths of *Lahors* and *Dehly*, with which they drive a great trade.

The Kings
Palace in
Amedabad.

There are many Mosques great and small in *Amedabad*, but that which is called *Juma-mesgid*,¹⁹ *Fridays Mosque*,²⁰ because the devout People of all the Town flock thither on that Day, is the chief and fairest of all. It hath its entry from the same Street where the Dutch-house is built, and they go up to it by several large Steps. The first thing that appears is a square Cloyster of about an hundred and forty Paces in length, and an hundred and twenty in breadth, the Roof whereof is supported by four and thirty Pillasters. The Circuit of it is adorn'd with twelve Domes, and the Square in the middle paved with great square Bricks. In the middle of the Front of the Temple, there are three great Arches, and at the sides two large square Gates that open into it, and each Gate is beautified with Pilasters, but without any order of Architecture. On the outside of each Gate there is a very high Steeple, which hath four lovely Balcony's, from whence the *Muezins*²¹ or Beadles of the Mosque, call the People to Prayers. Its chief Dome is pretty enough, and being accompanied with several little ones, and two *Minarets*, the whole together looks very pleasant; all that pile is supported by forty four Pillars placed two and two, and the Pavement is of Marble. The Chair of the *Imam*²² is there as in other Mosques, but besides that, in a corner to the Right hand there is large *Jube*²³ resting upon two and fourty Pillars eight Foot high apiece, which must only have been built to hide the Women that go to the Mosque, for that *Jube* is closed up as high as the Sealing with a kind of Pannels of Plaster with holes through; and there I saw above two hundred *Faquirs*,²⁴ who held their Arms cross ways behind their Head, without the least stirring.

*Juma-
mesgid
Fridays
Mosque.*

Amedabad being inhabited also by a great number of Heathens, there are *Pagod*s, or Idol-Temples it it. That which was called the *Pagod* of *Santidas*²⁵ was the chief, before *Auranzeb* converted it into a Mosque. When he performed that Ceremonie, he caused a Cow to be killed in the place, knowing very well, that after such an Action, the Gentiles according to

*Santidas,
Pagod.
The Ceremo-
nie of King
Auranzeb,
for convert-
ing a Pagod*

into a
Mosque.

their Law, could worship no more therein. All round the Temple there is a Cloyster furnished with lovely Cells, beautified with Figures of Marble in relief, representing naked Women sitting after the Oriental fashion. The inside Roof of the Mosque is pretty enough, and the Walls are full of the Figures of Men and Beasts ; but *Auranzeb*, who hath always made a shew of an affected Devotion, which at length raised him to the Throne, caused the Noses of all these Figures which added a great deal of Magnificence to that *Mosque*, to be beat off.²⁶

Chaaalem a
Burying
place.

The *Chaalem*²⁷ is still to be seen in *Amedabad* ; it is the Sepulchre of a vastly rich Man whom the Indians report to have been a Magician, and the Mahometans believe to be a great Saint ; so that it is daily visited by a great many out of Devotion : It is a square pile of Building, having on each side seven little Domes which set off a great one in the middle, and the entry into that place is by seven Ports which take up the whole front. Within this Building there is another in form of a Chappel, which is also square, when one is within the first which is paved with Marble, one may walk round the Chappel that hath two Doors of Marble, adorned with Mother of Pearl, and little pieces of Chrystal : The Windows are shut with Copper Lattices cut into various Figures. The Tomb of the Mock-Saint which is in the middle of the Chappel, is a kind of a Bed covered with Cloath of Gold, the Posts whereof are of the same materials as the Doors of the Chappel are, and have the same Ornament of Mother of Pearls ; and over all there are six or seven Silken Canopy's, one over another, and all of different colours. The place is very much frequented, and is continually full of white Flowers brought thither by the Devout Mahometans, when they come to say their Prayers : A great many Estrige-Eggs²⁸ and hanging Lamps are always to be seen there also.

On the other side of the Court there is a like Building,²⁹ where some other Saints of theirs are Interred, and not many steps farther, a Mosque³⁰ with a large Porch supported by Pillars, with many Chambers and other Lodgings for the Poor ; and to compleat all, there is a spacious Garden at the backside of the Mosque.

There are many Gardens in *Amedabad* ; and are so full of Trees, that when one looks upon that Town from a high place, it seems to be a Forrest of green Trees, most of the Houses being hid by them ; and the Kings Garden³¹ which is without the Town and by the River-side, contains all the kinds that grow in the *Indies*. There are long Walks of Trees planted in a streight line, which resemble the *Cours de la Reine* at *Paris*. It is very spacious, or rather, it is made up of a great many Gardens raised Amphitheatre-wise ; and in the uppermost there is a Terrass-Walk, from whence one may see Villages at several

A spacious
Garden.

Leagues distance. This Garden being of a very great extent, its long Walks yielded a very agreeable Prospect. They have in the middle Beds of Flowers, which are not above a Fathom and a half in breadth, but which reaches from one end of the Garden to the other. In the Centre of four Walks which makes a Cross, there is a Pavillion³² covered with green Tiles. Thither go all the young People of the Town to take the fresh Air upon the Banks of a Bason³³ full of water underneath.

Going thither, we saw a pile of Building, where a King of *Guzerat* lies Interred.³⁴ It is a square Fabrick, and in the Opinion of the Indians, the Magicians and Sorcerers entertain the Devil there. It is covered with a great Dome, having five smaller ones on each side ; and on each front of the Building, there are Pillars which support these Domes. Some Streets from thence there is to be seen a Sepulchre, where a Cow is interred under a Dome standing upon six Pillars.

The Sepulchre of a King of *Guzerat* at *Amedabad*.

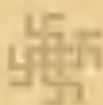
The Sepulchre of a Cow.

They would have me go next to *Serquech*,³⁵ which is a small Town about a League and a half from the City. The Indians say, that in ancient times that place was the Capital of *Guzerat*,³⁶ because of the vast number of Tombs of Kings and Princes³⁷ that are there ; but it is far more probable, that that place was only destin'd for their Burying, and that *Amedabad* hath always been the Capital. I observ'd there a Building much of the same structure as that of *Chaalem*. It hath the same Ornaments, and is dedicated also to one of their Saints ;³⁸ and all the difference is, that this has thirteen Domes³⁹ on each side, and the Dome which covers the Chappel, is painted and gault in the inside. Opposite to this Fabrick, there is another like to it, and dedicated also to a Saint.

Serquech.

Near to these Sepulchres, I saw a Mosque⁴⁰ like to that which I viewed at *Amedabad*, and the only difference is, that it is less. It hath adjoyning to it⁴¹ a great *Tanquies*^{41a} or Reservatory ; in the Chappels on the sides whereof, are the Tombs of the Kings, Queens, Princes and Princesses of *Guzerat*, to which they descend by several Steps of very lovely Stones.⁴² They are all of good solid work, whereby it sufficiently appears, that they have been made for Kings and Princes ; but they are framed⁴³ according to the same Model. They consist commonly of a large square Building that hath three great Arches on each Front, and over them a great many little ones. There is a large Dome in the middle, and a great many little ones in the sides, and in every corner, a Tower with a little pair of Stairs in the thickness of the Wall, to go up to Terras-Walks which are at certain distances upon the Building ; the Tomb being exactly under the great Dome. Most of these places are full of the marks of the Peoples Devotion, both Mahometans and Indians, who on certain days flock thither, of whom the

Sepulchre of the Kings and Princes of *Guzerat*.



Indigo at
Serquech.

latter bewail the loss of their Princes: There are a great many *Pagods* in those quarters, and from *Serquech* comes all the Indigo⁴⁴ which is sold at *Amedabad*.

An extraor-
dinary Well.

Without the City of *Amedabad* there is a lovely Well,⁴⁵ the Figure of it is an oblong square; it is covered with seven Arches of Freestone, that much adorn it: There are six spaces betwixt the Arches to let light in, and they are called, the Mouths of the Well. It is four Fathom broad, and about four and twenty long. At each end there is a Stair-case two Foot broad to go down to it, with six Stories⁴⁶ or Landings supported by Pilasters eight Foot high: Each Storie hath a Gallerie, or place⁴⁷ of four Fathom extent, and these Galleries and Pilasters are of Freestone: Sixteen Pilasters support each Gallerie, and the Mouths of the Well are about the same length and breadth that the Galleries are: The Figure of the third Mouth differs from the rest, because it is an Octogone, and has near it a little turning⁴⁸ Stair-case that leads down to the Well; the Water of it rises from a Spring, and it was up to the middle of the fourth Story when I went down, several little Boys at that time swimming in it from one end to the other amongst the Pillars. The Indians say, that this Well was made at the charges of a Nurse of a King of *Guzerat*, and that it cost thirty Millions;⁴⁹ but I could discover no work about it that required so great expences.

An Hospital
for Birds.

In this Town there is an Hospital for Birds.⁵⁰ The *Gentils* lodge therein all the sick Birds they find, and feed them as long as they live if they be indisposed. Four-footed Beasts have theirs also: I saw in it several Oxen, Camels, Horses, and other wounded Beasts, who were look'd after, and well fed, and which these Idolaters buy from Christians and Moors, that they may deliver them, (as they say,) from the cruelty of Infidels; and there they continue if they be incurable, but if they recover, they sell them to *Gentils* and to none else.

Panthers for
Hunting.

There are a great many Forrests about *Amedabad*, where they take Panthers⁵¹ for Hunting, and the Governour of the Town causes them to be taught, that he may send them to the King. The Governour suffers none to buy them but himself, and they whose care it is to tame them, keep them by them in the *Meidan*, where from time to time they stroak and make much of them, that they may accustom them to the sight of Men.

A rare Beast.

The Dutch shewed me a Beast they had, which is much esteem'd in that Country. It hath the Head of a Conic, and the Ears, Eyes and Teeth of a Hare; its Muzzle is round and of a Flesh-colour, and hath a Tail like a Squirrel; but it is a Foot and a half long: In the Fore-feet it hath four Fingers, and a Claw in place of the fifth; its hind Feet have five Toes compleat, which are very long as well as the Claws: The

Sole of its Feet is flat like an Apes, and of a Flesh-colour : Its Hair is long and course, and of a dark Red ; but that on its Belly and Fore-feet is greyish like the Wooll of a Hare ; it will eat any thing but Flesh, and easily cracks the hardest Nuts : It is neither wild nor hurtful ; will play with a Cat, and shew tricks like a Squirrel : It rubs its Snout with the Feet and Tail as they do, and has the same cry, but much stronger. The Dutch bought it of an *Abyssin*, who had it at *Moca*, though no body could tell the name of it, nor what kind of Beast it was. For my part, I make no doubt but that it is a particular kind of Squirrel, though it be three times as big as those we have in *Europe*.

The Commodities that are most traded in at *Amedabad*,
are Satins, Velvets, Taffeta's, and Tapestries with Gold, Silk
and Woollen Grounds : Cotten-Cloaths are sold there also ; but
they come from *Lahors* and *Dehly* : They export from thence
great quantities of Indigo, dried and preserved Ginger, Sugar,
Cumin, Lac, Mirabolans, Tamarins, Opium, Saltpetre and
Honey. The chief trade of the Dutch at *Amedabad* consists in
Schites,⁵² which are painted Cloaths ; but they are nothing
near so fine as those of *Masulipatan*⁵³ and *St. Thomas*.⁵⁴

The Commo-
dities of
Amedabad.

CHAPTER VI

DEPARTURE FROM AMEDABAD TO GO TO CAMBAYE

Having seen what was curious and worth the seeing in
Amedabad, and having thanked my Landlords for their Civil-
ties, who at parting procured me an Officer of the *Catoul* to
see me safe out at the Gates. I departed the sixteenth of
February for *Cambaye* which is but two days easie Journey,
that is, about fifteen or sixteen French Leagues from *Amedabad*.
I followed the same way I came after I had visited the little
Town of *Baredgia*,¹ which I left on the Left hand in coming.
It is four Leagues from *Amedabad* ; but I saw nothing in it
remarkable. When I was got as far as *Souzentra* I took to the
Right hand,² the way of *Cambaye*, and came to lodge all Night
in the Village of *Canara*,³ a League and a half from *Cambaye*.

Departure
from
Amedabad
to *Cambaye*.

Baredgia
a Town.

The Way of
Cambaye.

Cambaye which some call *Cambage* is a Town of *Guzerat*,⁴
lying at the bottom of a Gulf of the same name which is to
the *South* of it. It is as big again as *Surrat* ;^{4a} but not near so
populous ; it hath very fair Brick-walls about four Fathom high,
with Towers at certain distances. The Streets of it are large
and have all Gates at the ends,⁵ which are shut in the Night-
time : The Houses are very high, and built of Bricks dried in

Cambaye.

Agats.

the Sun, and the Shops are full of Aromatick Perfumes, Spices, Silken and other Stuffs. There are vast numbers of Ivory Bracelets, Agat-Cups, Chaplets and Rings made in this Town ; and these Agats are got out of Quarries of a Village called *Nimodra*,⁶ which are about four Leagues from *Cambaye*, upon the Road to *Baroche* ; but the pieces that are got there are no bigger than ones fist.

The Castle
of *Cambaye*.

Most part of the Inhabitants are *Banions* and *Raspoutes*,⁷ whom we shall describe in the sequel. The Castle where the Governour Lodges is large, but not at all beautiful. There are so many Monkies in this Town, that sometimes the Houses are covered over with them, so that they never fail to hurt some body in the Streets when they can find any thing on the Roofs to throw at them. The out skirts of the Town are beautified with a great many fair publick Gardens. There is a Sepulchre built of Marble,⁸ which a King of *Guzerat* raised in Honour of his Governour, whom he loved exceedingly, but it is kept in bad repair. It contains three Courts, in one of which are several Pillars of Porphyrie, that still remain of a greater number. There are many Sepulchres of Princes there also. Heretofore there was in *Cambaye* an Hospital for Sick Beasts, but it hath been neglected, and is now fallen to ruin.⁹ The Suburbs are almost as big as the Town, and they make Indigo there.¹⁰ The Sea is half a League distant from it, though heretofore it came up to the Town ;¹¹ and that has lessened the trade of the place, because great Ships can come no nearer than three or four Leagues. The Tides¹² are so swift to the North of the Gulph, that a Man on Horse-back at full speed, cannot keep pace with the first Waves ; and this violence of the Sea is one reason also why great Ships go but seldom thither. The Dutch come not there but about the end of *September*,¹³ because along the Coast of *India* that looks to¹⁴ *Arabia*, and especially in this Gulf of *Cambaye*, it is so bad for Ships in the beginning of this Month, by reason of a violent West-wind¹⁵ that blows then, and which is always accompanied with thick Clouds which they call Elephants, because of their shape, that it is almost impossible to avoid being cast away.¹⁶

Ways to
return to
Surrat.

Almedie.

The Gulf of
Cambaye
dangerous.

Having satisfied my curiosity as to what is remarkable in *Cambaye*, I took leave of my Friends ; and there being several ways to go from thence to *Surrat*, I advised¹⁷ which I had best to take. One may go by Sea in four and twenty hours, in an *Almadie*¹⁸ which is a kind of Brigantine used by the Portuguese for Trading along that Coast : But these Vessels go not commonly but in the¹⁹ night-time, that they might not be discovered by the *Malabars*.²⁰ In the day-time they keep in Harbours, and in the evening the Master goes up to some height to discover if there be any *Malabar* Barks at Sea. The *Almadies* Sail so fast that the *Malabars* cannot come up with them, but

they endeavour to surprise them, and when they discover any one in a Harbour, they skulk behind some Rock, and fall upon it in its passage. Many of these *Almadies* are lost in the Gulf of *Cambaye*, where the Tides are troublesome, and the Banks²¹ numerous; and that's one reason why Men venture not to go to *Surrat* this way by Sea, unless extraordinary business press them. *Malabar Corsars.*

There is another way still by Sea, which is to pass through the bottom of the Gulf in a Chariot, over against *Cambaye*, at low Water; and one must go three Leagues and a half in Water, which then is betwixt two and three foot deep: But I was told that the Waves beat so rudely sometimes against the Chariot, that it required a great many hands to keep it from falling, and that some mischance always happened; which hindred me from undertaking that course, though I knew very well that when I was past it, I had no more but eight and twenty Leagues to *Surrat*. And therefore I chose rather to go by Land, what danger soever there might be of Robbers, as I was assured there was.

When my Friends found I was resolved to go that way, they advised me for my security to take a *Tcheron*²² with a Woman of his *Caste* or tribe, to wait upon me till I were out of danger; but I refused to do it, and found by the success that I had reason to do as I did. These *Tcherons* are a Caste of Gentiles, who are highly esteemed amongst the Idolaters: They live, for most part at *Baroche*, *Cambaye*, and *Amedabad*: If one have any of these with him he thinks himself safe, because the Man acquaints the Robbers they meet, that the Traveller is under his guard, and that if they come near him, he will cut his own Throat, and the Woman threatens them that she'll cut off one of her Breasts with a Razor which she shews them; and all the Heathen of those places look upon it to be a great misfortune, to be the cause of the death of a *Tcheran*, because ever after the guilty person is an eye-sore²³ to the whole tribe; he is turned out of it, and for his whole life-time after up-braided with the death of that Gentil. Heretofore some *Tcherons* both Men and Women have killed themselves upon such occasions; but that has not been seen of a long time, and at present, they say, they compound with the Robbers for a certain Sum which the Traveller gives them, and that many times they divide it with them. The *Banians* make use of these People; and I was told that if I would employ them, I might be served for two *Roupies* a day: Nevertheless I would not do it, as looking upon it to be too low a kind of Protection.

So then I ordered my Coach-man to drive me the same way I came, and to return to *Souzentra* that I might go to *Surrat* by the ordinary way, though the compass he fetched²⁴ made my Journey longer by seven Leagues and a half. For all the

Gratiates.

caution I could use, my men lost their way beyond *Petnad*,²⁵ and we found ourselves at the Village of *Bilpar*,^{25a} the inhabitants whereof who are called *Gratiates*,²⁶ are for the most part all Robbers. I met with one of them towards a little Town named *Selly*;²⁷ he was a fellow in very bad cloaths,²⁸ carrying a Sword upon his Shoulder; he called to the Coach-man to stop, and a Boy about Nine or Ten years old that was with him, ran before the Oxen: My men presently offered them a *Pecha*,²⁹ which is worth about ten French Deniers, and prayed the little Boy to be gone; but he would not, till the Coach-man growing more obstinate, obliged the Man to accept of the *Pecha*. These Blades go sometimes³⁰ in whole troops, and one of them being satisfied, others come after upon the same Road, who must also be contented, though they seldom use violence for fear of offending their *Raja*. I wondered how that *Gratiates* being alone, durst venture to set upon so many; but he Coach-man told me, that if the least injury had been offered to him, he would have given the alarm by knocking with his Fingers upon his Mouth, and that presently³¹ he would have been assisted by his Neighbours: In the mean time this small rap-counter convinced me that there was not so great danger upon the Roads, as some would have made me believe.

Mahy a River.

The *Raja* of the *Gratiates* makes good Robberies.

We found our way again shortly after: We then crossed the River of *Mahy*, and coming out of it I gave half a Roupie to the same *Gratiates* whom I payed as I went to *Amedabad*. The *tola*³² belongs to the *Raja* of the Country, who is to answer for the Robberies committed within his Territories. And the truth is, he is as exact as possibly he can be to hinder them, and to cause restitution to be made of what is taken, especially if it be Merchants Goods, or other things of consequence: And my Coach-man told me, that one day having lost an Ox, he went to the *Raja* to demand his Ox; The *Raja* sent for those who he thought had stolen it, and causing them to be cudgelled, till one of them confessing he had it, he obliged him to bring it out, and restore it to the Coach-man, who was to give him only a Roupie for the blows he had received. But the *Raja* of the *Gratiates* do's much more; for if he that comes to complain, have not time to stay till what he hath lost be found, it is enough if he tell the place of his abode, and he fails not to send it him back by one of his People, though it be eight days Journey off. He is so much a Gentleman, that most commonly he sends Presents to People of fashion who pass by *Bilpar*, and do's them all the good Offices they desire of him.

Seeing the Caravans that pass by that place on their way to *Agra*, pay him ten Roupies a Man, he treats the whole Caravan *gratis*, and sends Provisions and Victuals into the Camp; which he orders his Cooks to dress. These do what they can to please the Caravan, and earn some *Pechas* from them, and they are

The *Raja* treats the Caravan *gratis*.

reckoned the best Cooks in the Countrey ; but in truth, their Ragoes³³ are not at all good : Nor do's their Master forget to send Dancing Girls to divert the Company ; and when they are ready to go, he furnishes the Caravan with several Horsemen for their security, until they be out of his Jurisdiction. His Territories comprehend all the Villages from *Cambaye* to *Baroche*, and all his Subjects are called *Gratiates*.

Next Day I came to the Town of *Baroche*, and stay'd only a few Hours to refresh my Men and Oxen. The Officers of the Custom-house asked me at parting, If I had any Merchants-goods, and having answered them that I had none ; they took my word, and used me civilly : So I crossed the River at *Ouclysser*, from whence next day I went to *Surrat*.

CHAPTER VII

OF SURRAT.

The Town of *Surrat* lies in one and twenty Degrees and *Surrat*. some Minutes of North Latitude,¹ and is watered by the River *Tapty*. When I came there, the Walls of it were only of Earth, and almost all ruinous ; but they were beginning to build them of Brick, a Fathom and a half thick ; they gave them but the same height ; and nevertheless they design'd to fortifie the place as strong as it could be made ; because of the Irruption that a Raja,² (of whom I shall speak hereafter) had made into it some time before. However the Ingeneer hath committed a considerable fault in the setting out of his Walls : He hath built them so near the Fort, that the Town will be safe from the Canon of the Castle, and those who defend it may easily be galled by Musquet-shot from the Town.

The Fortification of *Surrat*.

These new Walls³ render the Town much less than it was before ; for a great many Houses made of Canes that formerly were within its Precinct are now left out, for which, those who are concerned pretend Reparation.⁴ *Surrat* is but of an indifferent bigness,⁵ and it is hard to tell exactly the number of its Inhabitants,⁶ because the seasons render it unequal : There are a great many all the Year round ; but in the time of the *Monsson*, that is to say, in the time when Ships can go and come to the *Indies* without danger, in the Months of *January*, *February*,⁷ *March*, and even in *April*, the Town is so full of People, that Lodgings⁸ can hardly be had, and the three Suburbs are all full.

The bigness of *Surrat*.

It is inhabited by Indians, Persians, Arabians, Turks, The Inhabitants of *Surrat*. Franks,⁹ Armenians, and other Christians : In the mean time its usual Inhabitants are reduc'd to three Orders, amongst whom,

Moors at
Surrat.

Gentils at
Surrat.

Parsis at
Surrat.

Rich Mer-
chants in
Surrat.

English and
Dutch Fac-
tories at
Surrat

The Castle
of *Surrat*.

The Houses
of *Surrat*.

indeed, neither the Franks nor other Christians are comprehended, because they are but in a small number in comparison of those who profess another Religion. These three sorts of Inhabitants are either Moors,¹⁰ Heathens,¹¹ or Parsis; by the word *Moors* are understood all the Mahometans, Moguls, Persians, Arabians or Turks that are in the *Indies*, though they be not uniform in their Religion, the one being *Sunnis* and the other *Chiais*:¹² I have observed the difference betwixt them in my Second Part.¹³ The Inhabitants of the Second Order are called Gentils or Heathens, and these adore Idols, of whom also there are several sorts. Those of the third rank are the *Parsis*, who are likewise called *Gaures*¹⁴ or *Atechperest*,¹⁵ Adorers of the Fire: These profess the Religion of the Ancient Persians, and they retreated into the *Indies*,¹⁶ when *Calyfe Omar*¹⁷ reduced the Kingdom of *Persia* under the power of the Mahometans. There are People vastly rich in *Surrat*, and a *Banian* a Friend of mine, called *Vargivora*,¹⁸ is reckoned to be worth at least eight Millions. The English and Dutch have their Houses there, which are called Lodges and Factories:¹⁹ They have very pretty Appartments, and the English have settled the general Staple of their trade there. There may be very well an hundred Catholick Families in *Surrat*.

The Castle is built upon the side of the River at the South end of the Town, to defend the entry against those that would attack it, by the *Tapty*. It is a Fort of a reasonable bigness, square and flanked at each corner by a large Tower. The Ditches on three sides are filled with Sea-water, and the fourth side which is to the West is washed by the River. Several pieces of Canon appear on it mounted; and the Revenues of the King that are collected in the Province are kept there, which are never sent to Court but by express Orders. The entry to it is on the West side by a lovely Gate which is in the *Bazar* or *Meidan*: The Custom-house is hard by, and that Castle has a particular Governour, as the Town has another.²⁰

The Houses of this Town on which the Inhabitants have been willing to lay out Money, are flat²¹ as in *Persia*, and pretty well built; but they cost dear,²² because there is no Stone in the Countrey; seeing they are forc'd to make use of Brick and Lime, a great deal of Timber is employ'd, which must be brought from *Daman*²³ by Sea, the Wood of the Countrey which is brought²⁴ a great way off, being much dearer because of the Land-Carriage. Brick and Lime are very dear also; and one cannot build an ordinary House at less charge than five or six hundred Livres for Brick, and twice as much for Lime. The Houses are covered with Tiles made half round, and half an Inch thick, but ill burnt; so that they look still white when they are used, and do not last; and it is for that reason that the Bricklayers lay them double, and make them to keep whole.

Canes which they call *Bambous*²⁵ serve for Laths to fasten the *Bambous*. Tiles to ; and the Carpenters work which supports all this, is only made of pieces of round Timber : Such Houses as these are for the Rich ; but those the meaner sort of People live in, are made of Canes, and covered with the branches of Palm-trees.

Now, it is better building in the *Indies* in the time of Rain,²⁶ than in fair weather, because the heat is so great, and the force of the Sun so violent, when the Heavens are clear, that every thing dries before it be consolidate,²⁷ and cracks and chirks in a trice ; whereas Rain tempers that heat, and hindering the Operation of the Sun, the Mason-work has time to dry. When it rains the Work-men have no more to do, but to cover their Work with Wax-cloth, but in dry weather there is no remedy ; all that can be done is to lay yet Tiles²⁸ upon the Work as fast as they have made an end of it ; but they dry so soon, that they give but little help. The Streets of *Surrat* are large and even, but they are not paved, and there is no considerable publick Buildings within the Precinct of the Town. The time to Build in.
The Streets of *Surrat*.

The Christians and Mahometans there eat commonly Cow-beef, not only because it is better than the Flesh of Oxen, but also because the Oxen are employed in Plowing the Land, and carrying all Loads. The Mutton that is eaten there, is pretty good ; but besides that, they have Pullets, Chickens, Pidgeons, Pigs, and all sorts of wild Fowl.²⁹ They make use of the Oyl of *Cnicus silvestris*,³⁰ or wild Saffron with their Food ; it is the best in the *Indies*, and that of *Sesamum*³¹ which is common also, is not so good. The Meat at *Surrat*.
Oyles at *Surrat*.

They eat Graps in *Surrat* from the beginning of *February*, to the end of *April*, but they have no very good taste. Some think that the reason of that is, because they suffer them not to ripen enough : Nevertheless the Dutch who let them hang on the Vine as long as they can, make a Wine of them which is so eager,³² that it cannot be drunk without Sugar. The white Grapes are big and fair to the Eye, and they are brought to *Surrat*, from a little Town called *Naapoura*,³³ in the Province of *Balagate*, and four days Journey from *Surrat*. Grapes at *Surrat*.
Naapoura a Town.

The Strong-water³⁴ of this Country is no better than the Wine, that which is commonly drunk, is made of *Jagre*³⁵ or black Sugar put into Water with the bark of the tree *Baboul*,³⁶ to give it some force ; and then all are Distilled together. They make a Strong-water also of *Tary*³⁷ which they Distil ; But these Strong-waters are nothing so good as our Brandy, no more than those they draw from Rice, Sugar and Dates. The Vinegar they use is also made of *Jagre* infused in Water. There are some that put Spoilt-raisins in it when they have any ; but to make it better, they mingle *Tary* with it, and set it for several days in the Sun.

Vinegar at *Surrat*

CHAPTER VIII

OF TARY.

*Tary.**Cadgiour.*

Tary is a liquor that they drink with pleasure in the *Indies*. It is drawn from two sorts of Palm-trees, to wit, from that which they call *Cadgiour*,¹ and from that which bears the *Coco*; the best is got from the *Cadgiour*. They who draw it gird their Loyns with a thick Leather-girdle, wherewith they embrace the trunk of the Tree, that they may climb up without a Ladder; and when they are come to that part of the Tree from which they would draw the *Tary*, they make an incision one Inch deep and three Inches wide, with a pretty heavy Iron-Chizel, so that the hole enters in to the pith of the *Cadgiour*, which is white: At the same time they fasten an earthen Pitcher half a Foot below the hole, and this Pot having the back part a little raised, receives the Liquor which continually drops into it; whil'st they cover it with Briars or Palm branches, least the birds should come and drink it. Then they come down, and climb not up the Tree again till they perceive that the Pitcher is full, and then they empty the *Tary* into another Pot fastened to their girdle. That kind of Palm-tree bears no Dates, when they draw *Tary* from it; but when they draw none, it yields wild Dates.

Coco-tree.

They take another course in drawing that Liquor from the *Coco-tree*.² They make no hole, but only cut the lower branches to a Foot length. They fasten Pots to the end of them, and the *Tary* Distils into the Vessels. Seeing the Operation I have been speaking of is but once a year performed on these Palm-trees, they whose Trade it is to sell *Tary*, have a prodigious number of these Trees, and there are a great many Merchants that Farm them. The best *Tary* is drawn in the Night-time; and they who would use³ it with pleasure, ought to drink of that, because not being heated by the Sun, it is of an acide sweetness, which leaves in the Mouth the flavour of a Chestnut, which is very agreeable. That which is drawn in the day-time is eager,⁴ and most commonly made Vinegar of, because it easily corrupts and decays. That kind of Palm, or *Coco-tree*, is fit for many other uses, for of its trunk they make Masts and Anchors, nay, and the hulks of Ships also; and of its bark Sails and Cables. The Fruit that springs from its feathered branches, is as big as an ordinary Melon, and contains a very wholesome Juice, which hath the colour and taste of Whitewine. The Dutch have a great many of these *Coco-trees* in Batavia, which turn to great profit to them. The Revenue alone of those which belong to the Company near the Town, with the imposition on every Stand of those who sell any thing in the Market-place, is sufficient to pay their Garison: But

Coco.



Tapping toddy

they are so rigorous in exacting it, that if any one leave his Stand, to take a minutes refreshment in the Rain, or for any other necessary occasion, though he immediately come back, yet must he pay a second time if he will challenge⁵ the same Stand.

At *Surrat*, are sold all sorts of Stuffs and Cotton-cloaths that are made in the *Indies*, all the Commodities of *Europe*, nay and of *China* also, as Purceline, Cabinets and Coffers adorned with Torqueises, Agats, Cornelians, Ivory, and other sorts of embellishments. There are⁶ Diamonds, Rubies, Pearls, and all the other pretious Stones which are found in the East to be sold there also : Musk, Amber, Myrrh,^{7a} Incense, Manna,⁸ Sal-Armoniac,⁹ Quick-Silver, Lac, Indigo, the Root Roenas¹⁰ for dying Red, and all sorts of Spices and Fruits which are got in the *Indies* and other Countries of the *Levant*, go off here in great plenty ; and in general all the Drogues that Foreign Merchants buy up to transport into all parts of the World.

Commodities of *Surrat*.

CHAPTER IX

OF THE WEIGHTS AND MONEY OF SURRAT.

At *Surrat* as elsewhere, there are diverse kinds of Weights and Measures. That which is called *Candy*,¹ is of twenty *Mans*, but the most common Weight used in Trade is the *Man*,² which contains fourty *Serres*³ or Pounds, and the Pound of *Surrat* contains fourteen Ounces, or five and thirty *Toles*. All Gold and Silver is weighed by the *Tole*,⁴ and the *Tole* contains fourty *Mangelis*,⁵ which makes fifty six of our *Caracts*,⁶ or thirty two *Vales*,⁷ or otherwise fourscore and sixteen *Gongys*.⁸ The *Vale* contains three *Gongys*, and two *Toles* a third and a half, answers to an Ounce of *Paris* weight, and a *Tole* weighs as much as a *Roupie*.⁹ The *man* weighs fourty Pound weight all the *Indies* over, but these Pounds or *Serres* vary according to different Countries : For instance, the Pounds of *Surrat* are greater than those of *Golconda*, and by consequence the *Man* is bigger also : The *Serre* or Pound of *Surrat* weighs no more but fourteen Ounces ; and that of *Agra* weighs twenty eight.

The weights of *Surrat*.
Candy a measure.
The *Man* a weight at *Surrat*.
The Pound of *Surrat*.
Tole.
Mangelis.
Caracts.
Vales.
Gongy.
The Ounce of *Paris*.

Great sums of Money are reckoned by *Leks*,¹⁰ *Crouls* or *Courous*,¹¹ *Padans*,¹² and *Nils*. An hundred thousand *Roupies* make a *Lek*, an hundred thousand *Leks* a *Courou*, an hundred thousand *Courous* a *Padan*, and an hundred thousand *Padans* a *Nil*. The great Lords have *Roupies* of Gold,¹³ which are worth about one and twenty French *Livres* ; but since they pass not commonly in Trade, and that they are only Coined for the

The Money of *Surrat*.

Roupies of Gold.

most part, to be made presents of, I shall only speak of those of Silver. The Silver *Roupie* is as big as an *Abassy* of *Persia*, but much thicker, it weighs a *Tole* ; It passes commonly for thirty French Sols,¹⁴ but it is not¹⁵ worth above nine and twenty. They yearly Coin *Roupies* ; and the new ones during the year they are Coined in, are valued a *Pecha* more than those of the foregoing year, because the Coiners pretend that the Silver daily wears : The truth is, when I came to *Surrat*, the *Roupies* were worth thirty three *Pechas* and a half,¹⁶ and when I left it, the same were worth but thirty two and a half. They have *Roupies* and quarter pieces also.

Abassis.

The *Abassis* that are brought from *Persia*, pass only for nineteen *Pechas*, which are about sixteen French Sols and a half. There is also a *Mogole* Silver-Coin, called *Mahmoudy*,¹⁷ which is worth about eleven Sols and a half.

Pecha.

The *Pecha* is a piece of Copper-Money as big and thick as a *Roupie*, it is worth somewhat more than ten French *Deniers*,¹⁸ and weighs six of our *Drachms*.

Baden.

They give threescore and eight *Baden*¹⁹ or bitter Almonds for a *Pecha*. These Almonds that pass for Money at *Surrat*, come from *Persia*, and are the Fruit of a shrub that grows on the Rocks. There are also half *Pechas*.

The Moguls
Money Very
fine.

It is to be observed that the Silver Money of the *Great Mogul* is finer than any other, for whenever a Stranger enters the Empire, he is made to change the Silver he hath, whether *Piastres*²⁰ or *Abassis*, into the Money of the Country, and at the same time they are melted down, and the Silver refined for the Coining of *Roupies*.

CHAPTER X

OF THE OFFICERS OF SURRAT.

Officers of
Surrat.

There is a *Mufti*¹ at *Surrat*, who has the inspection² over all that concerns the Mahometan Religion, and a *Cady*³ established for the Laws, to whom recourse is had in case of contest.⁴ The *Great Mogul* entertains⁵ another great Officer there, whom the Franks call Secretary of State, and whose duty much resembles that of the Intendant⁶ of a Province in France. He is called *Vaca-Nevis*,⁷ that is who writes and keeps a Register of all that happens within the extent of the Country where he is placed. The King keeps one in every Government, to give him notice of all that occurs, and he depends on no Minister of State, but only on his Majesty.

Mufti.
Cady.

Vaca-Nevis.

There are two Governours or *Nabad*⁸ at *Surrat*, who have no dependence one on another, and give an account of their actions only to the King. The one Commands the Castle, and the other the Town; and they encroach not upon one anothers rights and duties. The Governour of the Town Judges in Civil matters, and commonly renders speedy Justice: If a Man sue another for a Debt, he must either shew an obligation, produce two witnesses, or take an Oath: If he be a Christian, he swears upon the Gospel; if a Moor, upon the Alcoran,⁹ and a Heathen swears upon the Cow: The Gentils Oath consists only in laying his hand upon the Cow, and saying, that he wishes he may eat of the Flesh of that Beast, if what he says be not true; but most of them chuse rather to lose their cause than to swear, because they who swear are reckoned infamous among the Idolaters.

Two Governours at *Surrat*.
Nabad.

The way of suing for a Debt in the *Indies*.

The first time one goes to wait upon the Governour, as soon as they come they lay before him,¹⁰ five, six, or ten *Roupies*, every one according to his Quality; and in the *Indies* the same thing is done to all for whom they would shew great respect. This Governour meddles not at all in Criminal Affaires; an Officer named *Cotoual* takes cognisance of them. In *Turkey* he is called *Sousbassa*,¹¹ and in *Persia* *Deroga*.¹² He orders the Criminals to be punished in his presence, either by Whipping or Cudgelling, and that correction is inflicted many times in his House, and sometimes in the Street at the same place where they have committed the fault. When he goes abroad through the Town, he is on Horse-back, attended by several Officers on Foot, some carrying Batons and great Whips, others Lances, Swords, Targets,¹³ and Maces of Iron like the great Pestles of a Morter; but all have a dagger at their sides. Nevertheless neither the Civil nor Criminal Judge can put any one to death. The King reserves that Power to himself; and therefore when any Man deserves death, a Courier is dispatched to know his pleasure, and they fail not to put his Orders in execution, so soon as the Courier is come back.¹⁴

The Criminal Judge
Cotoual

The *Cotoual* is obliged to go about the Street in the Night-time, to prevent disorders; and sets guards in several places. If he find any Man abroad in the Streets, he commits him to Prison, and very rarely does he let him go out again, without being Bastonadoed or Whipt. Two of the Officers that wait on him, about nine of the Clock beat two little Drums, whilst a third sounds two or three times a long Copper-Trumpet, which I have described in my Voyage into *Persia*.¹⁵ Then the Officers or Serjeants cry as loud as they can, *Caberdar*,¹⁶ that's to say, *take heed*; and they who are in the Neighbouring Streets, answer with another¹⁷ cry, to shew that they are not asleep. After that they continue their round, and begin to cry again afresh until they have finished it. This round is

The cry of
Caberdar.

performed thrice a Night, to wit, at nine of the Clock, Midnight, and three in the Morning.^{17a}

The *Cotoual* answers for Robberies.

The *Cotoual* is to Answer for all the Robberies committed in the Town;¹⁸ but as generally all that are put into that Office, are very cunning, so they find always evasions¹⁹ to come off without paying. Whil'st I was at *Surrat*, an *Armenian* Merchant was Robbed of two thousand four hundred *Chequins*,²⁰ his name was *Cogea Minas*:²¹ Two of his Slaves absconding about the time of the Robbery, he failed not to accuse them of it; all imaginary²² enquiry was made after them, but seeing there was no news to be had neither of them nor of the Money, the report run that these Slaves had committed the Theft; and that they were concealed by²³ some Moor that was in intelligence with them, who perhaps, to get all the Money had killed and buried them, as it had already happened at *Surrat*.

In the mean time the Governour told the *Cotoual*, that he must forthwith pay the Money, because if the Emperour came to know of the matter, all the fault would be laid at their door, that perhaps they might be served worse than to be made pay the Money that had been stolen from *Cogea Minas*, and that therefore they had best send for the *Armenian*, and learn from him how much he had really lost. The *Cotoual* said nothing to the contrary, but at the same time asked leave to commit him to Prison, and to put him and his servants to the Rack, that so by torture he might discover whether or not he had really lost the Money, and if so, whether or not one of his own Men had Robbed him. The Governour granted what he demanded; but no sooner was the news brought to the *Armenian*, but he desisted from pursuing the *Cotoual*, and chose rather to lose all than to suffer the torments that were designed for him. In this manner commonly the *Cotoual* comes off.

The punishment of those who are suspected of Robbery.

When any one is Robbed, this Officer apprehends all the People of the House both Young and Old where the Robbery hath been committed, and causes them to be beaten severely. They are stretched out upon the Belly, and four Men hold him that is to be punished by the Legs and Arms, and two others have each a long Whip of twisted thongs of Leather made thick and round, wherewith they lash the Patient one after another, like Smiths striking on an Anvil, till he have received two or three hundred lashes, and be in a gore of Blood. If at first he confess not the Theft, they whip him again next day, and so for several days more, until he hath confessed all, or the thing stolen be recovered again; and what is strange, the *Cotoual* neither searches his House or Goods, but after five or six days, if he do not confess he is dismissed.

Prevost
Foursdar.

At *Surrat* there is a *Prevost* who is called *Foursdar*,²⁴ and he is obliged to secure the Country about,²⁵ and to Answer

for all the Robberies that are committed there ; but I cannot tell if he be so crafty as the *Cotoual*. When they would stop any Person, they only cry *Doa-padecha*,²⁶ which hath greater force than a *Hue-and-cry* ; and if they forbid a Man to stir out of the place where he is, by saying *doa-padecha*, he cannot go, without rendering himself Criminal, and is obliged to appear before the Justice.²⁷ This cry is used all over the *Indies* : After all, there are but Fines²⁸ imposed at *Surrat*, the People live there with freedome enough.

Doa-Padecha.

CHAPTER XI

BAD OFFICES DONE TO THE FRENCH COMPANY AT SURRAT.

The Governour of *Surrat* was making strict enquiry into the French Company, when I came to the *Indies*. Seeing at first he applyed¹ himself to the other Franks, and particularly to those whose interest it was not to have it² established at *Surrat*, they told him a great deal of evil of the French ; so that by the Artifice of their Enemies he had conceiv'd a bad Opinion of them. He was thinking to sollicite their exclusion at Court, when Father *Ambrose*,³ Superior of the *Capucins*,⁴ being enform'd of it, went to undeceive him, telling him that he ought not to give credit to the Enemies of that Company, for that they were combin'd to ruin it if they could. He loved that Father because of his Probity, and therefore did not reject him ; only adjur'd him to tell him the truth without dissimulation concerning the matter, and whether the French, who were to come, were not pirates, as it was reported all over the Countrey, and as many Franks had assured him they were.

Bad Offices done to the French Company at *Surrat*.

This thought was suggested in *Surrat*, so soon as it was known that there was a Design in *France* of sending Ships to trade in the *East-Indies* ;⁵ and the Calumny was easily believ'd, because one *Lambert Hugo*,⁶ a Dutch-man, who had had French on Board of him,⁷ and whom they brought fresh into the Peoples Minds, had been two Years before at *Moca*⁸ with French Colours, and a Commission from the Duke of *Vendosme*⁹ then Admiral of *France*, and had taken some Vessels : But that which offended most, was the story of the Ship that carried the Goods of the Queen of *Visiapour*,¹⁰ and was stranded about *Socotra*,¹¹ an Isle lying in eleven Degrees forty Minutes Latitude, at the entry of the Red-Sea. That Queen who was going to *Mecha*,¹² was out of the reach of the *Corsar*, for luckily she had gone on Board of Dutch

Lambert Hugo a *Corsar*.

The Queen of *Visiapour*. *Socotra*.

Ship ;¹³ but being satisfied with a Ship belonging to her self for transporting her Equipage ; *Hugo* met that Ship, and persued her so briskly, that the Master was forced to run aground. It being difficult for the Corsar to approach the Ship in the place where she lay, he lost no courage,¹⁴ but patiently expected¹⁵ what might be the issue of her stranding : His expectation was not in vain ; for the Indians wanting Water for a long time, and finding none where they were, suffered great extremity ; and therefore having hid in the Sea what Gold, Silver, and pretious Stones they could,¹⁶ they resolved to have recourse to the Corsar himself to save their lives, hoping that he would be satisfied with what remained in the Ship.

The Cunning of
Hugo.

Hugo being come up with them, cunningly found out that they had sunk somewhat in the Sea ; and a false Brother told him, that none but the Carpenter and his Son knew where the Queens Treasure was, (for she had carried with her a great deal of Money, Jewels and rich Stuffs to make Presents at *Mecha*, *Medina*, *Grand Cheik*,¹⁷ and other places,¹⁸ resolving to be very magnificent.) In fine, *Hugo* having sufficiently tortured the Master, Carpenter, and the Carpenters Son, whom he threatened to kill in his Fathers presence, made them bring out what was in the Sea, and seized it, as he did the rest of the Cargoe. This Action had made so much noise in the Indies, that *Hugo*, who was there taken for a French-man, was abominated, and by consequence all French-men for his sake.

Aden.

The Governour talked high of¹⁹ that Corsar to Father *Ambrose*, who had much adoe to perswade him, that he was not a French-man, because he came with French Colours, and for certain had a great many French-men on Board. However, after much Discourse he believed him ; but²⁰ for all that excused not the French from the Action wherein they had assisted him, and still maintained, that nothing but a design of Robbing had brought them into that Countrey : The Father denied that it was their design, but that they only came with *Lambert Hugo* to revenge an affront done to some French, in *Aden*²¹ a Town of *Arabia the Happy*, lying in the eleventh Degree of Latitude ; and thereupon he told him what was done in that Town to the French, some years before ; How that a Pinnacle of *Monsieur de la Meilleraye*,²² being obliged in a storm to separate from her Man of War, and to put into *Aden*. The *Sunnis* by force and unparalell'd impietie, had caused all those that came ashore to be Circumcised, though at first they received them well, and promised to treat them as Friends. That notwithstanding that, the King of *France* as well as the *Indians* had disapproved the Action of the Corsar and French who were on Board of him, because they had put his Subjects into bad Reputation, by the Artifice of the Enemies of *France* ; but that he was resolved to dispell that bad Reputation, by settling a Company to trade



The marriage of the daughter of the Governor of Surat



to the *Indies*, with express Orders to exercise no Acts of Hostility there.

The Governour being satisfied with the Answer of Father *Ambrose*, prayed him to write down in the Persian Language all that he had told him ; and so soon as he had done so, he sent it to Court. The *Great Mogul* having had it read to him in the Divan, was fully satisfied therewith, as well as his Ministers of State, and then all desired the coming of the French Ships. The truth is, that Governour shewed extraordinary kindness to the *Sieurs de la Boullaye* and *Beber*,²³ the Companies Envoys, and told them, that on the Testimony of Father *Ambrose*, he would do them all the service he could. The English President,²⁴ an old Friend of that Fathers, shewed them also all the Honour he could, having sent his Coach and Servants to receive them, and he assured the Father, that they might command any thing he had. Thus the Capucin by the Credit that he had acquired in the *Indies*, dispersed the bad reports which the Enemies of France, had raised against the French.

The French justified by Father *Ambrose*.

Envoys from the French Company.

CHAPTER XII

OF THE MARRIAGE OF THE GOVERNOUR OF THE TOWN'S DAUGHTER.

Whil'st I was at *Surrat*, the Governour of the Town¹ married his Daughter to the Son of an *Omra*,² who came thither for that end. That young Lord made his Trumpets, Tymbals³ and Drums play publicly during the space of twelve or fourteen days,⁴ to entertain the People, and publish his marriage upon a *Wednesday* which was appointed for the Ceremony of the Wedding ; he made the usual Cavalcade about eight of the Clock at Night, first marched his Standards which were followed by several hundreds of Men carrying Torches, and these Torches were made of Bamboos or Canes, at the end whereof there was an Iron Candlestick, containing Rolls of oyled Cloath made like Sausages. Amongst these Torch-lights there were two hundred Men and Women, little Boys, and little Girls, who had each of them upon their Head a little Hurdle of Ozier-Twigs, on which were five little Earthen Cruces that served for Candlesticks to so many Wax-Candles, and all these People were accompanied with a great many others, some carrying in Baskets, Rolls of Cloath and Oyl to supply the Flamboys, and others Candles.

The Ceremonies of the Wedding.

The Cavalcade of the Wedding.

The Trumpets came after the Flamboy-carriers, and these were followed by publick Dancing-women, sitting in two

Machins made like Bedstids without Posts, in the manner of *Palanquins*, which several Men carried on their Shoulders. They sung and play'd on their Cymbals, intermingled with Plates and flat thin pieces of Copper, which they struck one against another, and⁵ made a very clear sound, but unpleasant, if compared with the sound of our Instruments. Next came six pretty handsome led Horses, with Cloath-Saddles wrought⁶ with Gold-thread.

The Bridegroom having his Face covered with a Gold-Fringe, which hung down from a kind of Mitre that he wore on his Head followed on Horse-back, and after came twelve Horse-men, who had behind them two great Elephants, and two Camels which carried each two Men playing on Tymbals; and besides these Men each Elephant had his Guide sitting upon his Neck. This Cavalcade having for the space of two hours marched through the Town, passed at length before the Governours House, where they continued, as they had done all along the Streets where the Cavalcade went, to throw Fire-Works for some time, and then the Bridegroom retired.

Bonefires.

Sometime after, Bonefires prepared on the River-side before the Governours House were kindled; and on the Water, before the Castle there were six Barks full of Lamps burning in tires; about half an hour after ten these Barks drew near the House, the better to light the River: And at the same time, on the side of *Renelle*,⁷ there were Men that put Candles upon the Water, which floating gently without going out, were by an Ebbing-Tide carried towards the Sea. *Renelle* is an old Town about a quarter of a League distant from *Surrat*: It stands on the other side of the *Tapty*, and though it daily fall into ruin, yet the Dutch have a very good Magazin there.

Renelle a
Town.

There were five little artificial Towers upon the Water-side full of Fire-lances and Squibs, which were set on fire one after another; but seeing the Indian Squibs make no noise no more than their Fire-lances, all they did, was to turn violently about, and dart a great many streaks of Fire into the Air, some streight up like Water-works,⁸ and others obliquely, representing the branches of a Tree of Fire: They put fire next to a Machine which seemed to be a blew⁹ Tree when it was on fire, because there was a great deal of Brimstone in the Fire-work: After that, upon a long Bar of Iron fixed in the ground they placed a great many artificial Wheels, which play'd one after another and spread abundance of Fire: They also burnt divers Pots full of Powder, from which large flakes of Artificial Lightning glanced¹⁰ up in the Air; and all this while, Squibs and Serpents flew about in vast numbers; and with them many Fire-lances, in which was a great deal of Camphire, that yielded a whitish dazzling flame.

These Fire-works play'd almost an hour ; and when they were over, the main business was performed. The Maid was married in her Fathers House by a *Moula*,¹¹ and about two of the Clock in the Morning was conducted upon an Elephant to her Husbands Lodgings. The Wedding.

There were a great many Dancers, Tumblers, and players at sleight of Hand in the open places ; but they acted nothing, as I could see, but what was dull, and yet I was advantageously placed in Windows to examin their play, being desirous to see, if what was told of their dexterity was true ; but I found nothing extraordinary¹² in it, and I should have had a bad Opinion of the Indian Dances, if I had not met with nimbler¹³ afterwards in my Travels there. Dancers, Juglers.

The first time I saw Hermaphrodites was there. It was easie to distinguish them, for seeing there is a great number in that Town, and all over the *Indies*, I was enform'd before hand, that for a mark to know them by, they were oblig'd under pain of Correction,¹⁴ to wear upon their Heads a Turban like Men, though they go in the habit of Women. Hermaphrodites.

CHAPTER XIII

OF BURYING-PLACES, AND THE BURNING OF DEAD BODIES.

The Burying-places of *Surrat* are without the Town, about three or four hundred Paces from *Baroche-Gate*. The Catholicks have their own apart ; and so have the English and Dutch, as well as some Religious Indians. The English and Dutch adorn¹ their Graves with Pyramids of Brick whitened over with Lime ; and whilst I was there, there was one a building for a Dutch Commander, which was to cost eight thousand Livres.² Amongst the rest, there is one of a great drinker,³ who had been banished to the *Indies* by the *States General*, and who is said to have been a Kinsman of the Prince of *Orange* : They have raised a Monument for him, as for other Persons of note ; but to let the World see that he could drink stoutly, on the top of his Pyramid there is a large Stone-cup, and one below at each corner of his Tomb ; and hard by each Cup there is the Figure of a Sugar-loaf. When the Dutch have a mind to divert themselves at that Monument, they make, God knows, how many Ragoes in these Cups, and with other less Cups drink or eat what they have prepared in the great ones. Burying places.
The Sepulchres of the English and Dutch.
The Sepulchre of a Dutch drinker.

The Religious Gentils have their Tombs about two thousand Paces beyond the Dutch Burying-place. They are square, and The Tombs of the

Religious
Gentils.

made of Plaister ; they are about two or three Foot high, and two Foot broad, covered some with a Dome, and others with a Pyramid of Plaister somewhat more than three Foot high ; on the one side there is a little Window, through which one may see the top of the Grave ; and because there are two Soles of Feet cut upon them, some have believ'd that the *Vartias*⁴ were interred with the Head down and the Feet upwards, but having enform'd my self as to that, I learnt, that there was no such thing, and that the Bodies are laid in their Graves after the ordinary manner.

The place
where
Bodies
are burnt.

The place where the *Banians* burn their dead Bodies, is by the River-side, beyond the Burying-places ; and when they are consumed, the Ashes are left there, on design,⁵ that they may be carried away by the Tapti, because they look upon it as a Sacred River.⁶ They believe that it contributes much to the Salvation of the Soul of the deceased, to burn his Body immediately after his Death, because, (as they say,) his Soul suffers after the separation from the Body till it be burnt : It is true, that if they are in a place where there is no Wood, they tie a Stone to the dead Body, and throw it into the Water, and their Religion allows them to bury it if there be neither Water nor Wood ; but they are still perswaded that the Soul is much happier when the Body hath been burnt.

Madeo.

They burn not the Bodies of Children that die before they are two Years old, because they are as yet innocent ; nor do they burn the Bodies of the *Vartias* nor *Jogues*,⁷ who are a kind of Dervishes,⁸ because they follow the rite of *Madeo*,⁹ who is one of their great Saints, and who ordered the Bodies to be interred.

CHAPTER XIV

OF DIVERSE CURIOSITIES AT SURRAT.

A fair Well.

Towards the English Burying-place there is a great Well ; a *Banian* made it¹ for the convenience of Travellers, and it is of an oblong square Figure, like the Well of *Amedabad*, which I have described. There are over it diverse thin Brick-Arches, at some Feet distance one from another : Several Stairs go down to it, and the Light enters by the spaces that are between the Arches ; so that one may see very clearly from the top to the bottom. On the outside there is the Figure of a Red-face, but the Features are not to be distinguished. The Indians say, that it is the Pagod of *Madeo*, and the Gentils pay a great Devotion to it.

Towards *Daman-gate*, where the loveliest Walk in all the *Daman-gate*.
 Country begins, there is a Reservatory² much esteemed. That
 Gate is covered and encompassed with the branches of a lovely
 War, which the Portuguese call the Tree of Roots, that fur-
 nishes the pleasantest Resting-place imaginable to all that go
 to the *Tanquie*. This great Reservatory of Water hath six^{2a} A lovely
 Angles ; the side of every Angle is an hundred paces long, and *Tanquie*.
 the whole at least a Musket-shot in diametre. The bottom is
 paved with large Free-stone, and there are Steps almost all
 round in form of an Amphitheatre, reaching from the brim to
 the bottom of the Bason ; they are each of them half a Foot
 high, and are of lovely Free-stone that hath been brought from
 about *Cambaye* ; where there are no Steps there is a sloaping
 descent to the *Bason* ; and there are three places made for
 Beasts to water at.

In the middle of this Reservatory there is a Stone-Building A Building
 about three Fathom every way,³ to which they go up by two in the mid-
 little Stair-cases. In this place they go to divert themselves, dle of the
 and take the fresh Air ; but they must go to it in Boat. The *Tanquie*.
 great *Bason* is filled with Rain-water in the season when the
 Rains fall, for after it hath run through the fields, where it
 makes a kind of a great Chanal, over which they have been
 obliged to make Bridges, it stops in a place enclosed within
 Walls, from whence it passes into the *Tanquie* through three
 round holes, which are above four Foot Diametre, and hard by
 there is a kind of Mahometan Chappel.⁴

This *Tanquie* was made at the charges of a rich *Banian Copy*.
 named *Gopy*,⁵ who built it for the publick ; and heretofore all
 the Water that was drank in *Surrat* came from this Reservatory,
 for the five Wells which at present supply the whole Town,
 were not found out till long after it was built. It was begun
 at the same time the Castle was, and they say, that the one
 cost as much as the other. It is certainly a Work worthy of a
 King, and it may be compared to the fairest that the Romans
 ever made for publick benefit. But seeing the Levantines let
 all things go to ruine for want of repair, it was above six Foot
 filled with Earth when I saw it, and in danger sometime or
 other to be wholly choaked up, if some Charitable Banian be
 not at the charge of having it cleansed⁶

Having viewed that lovely Reservatory, we went a quarter The
 of a League farther to see the Princesses Garden, so called, Princesses
 because it belongs to the *Great Moguls* Sister.⁷ It is a great Garden.
 Plot of Trees of several kinds ; as *Manguiers*,⁸ *Palms*,⁹ *Mira-
 bolans*,¹⁰ *Wars*, *Maisa-trees*,¹¹ and many other planted in a
 streight line. Amongst the Shrubs I saw the *Querzehere*¹² or
Aacla, of which I have treated at large in my Second Part,
 and also the *Accaria* of *Egypt*. There are in it a great many

very fair streight Walks, and especially the four which make a Cross over the Garden, and have in the middle a small Canal of Water that is drawn by Oxen out of a Well. In the middle of the Garden there is a Building with four Fronts, each whereof hath its Divan, with a Closet at each corner ; and before every one of these Divans there is a square Bason full of Water, from whence flow the little Brooks which run through the chief Walks. After all, though that Garden be well contriv'd, it is nothing to the gallantry¹³ of ours. There is nothing to be seen of our Arbours, Borders of Flowers, nor of the exactness of their Compartments, and far less of their¹⁴ Water-works.

The
War-tree.

About an hundred, or an hundred and fifty Paces from that Garden, we saw the War-tree¹⁵ in its full extent. It is likewise called *Ber*, and the Tree of *Banians*, as also the Tree of Roots, because of the facility wherewith the branches that bear large Filaments, take Rooting, and by consequence produce other branches ; insomuch that one single Tree is sufficient to fill a great spot¹⁶ of Ground ; and this I speak of, is very large and high, affording a most spacious shade. Its circuit is round, and is fourscore Paces in Diametre, which make above¹⁷ thirty Fathom. The Branches that had irregularly taken Root, have been so skilfully cut, that at present one may without any trouble walk about every where under it.

A Sacred
Tree.

The Gentils of India look upon that Tree as Sacred ; and we might easily perceive that at a distance, by the Banners which the *Banians* had planted on the top and highest Branches of it. It hath by it a Pagod dedicated to an Idol which they call *Mameva* ;¹⁸ and they who are not of their Religion, believe it to be a representation of *Eve*. We found a *Bramen* sitting there, who put some Red Colour upon the Foreheads of those who come to pay their Devotions, and received the Presents of Rice or Cocos that they offered him. That Pagod is built under the Tree in form of a Grot ; the outside is painted with diverse Figures representing the Fables of their false Gods, and in the Grot there is a Head all over Red.¹⁹

Charity
towards
Ants.

In that place I saw a Man very charitable towards the Ants : He carried Flower in a Sack to be distributed amongst them, and left a handful every where where he met with any number.

Sugar-
Canes.

Whilst we were abroad in the Fields, we considered the Soyl of *Surrat*, it is of a very brown Earth ; and they assured us, that it was so very rich, that they never dunged it. After the Rains they sow their Corn, that is, after the Month of *September*, and they cut it down after *February*. They plant Sugar-Canes there also ; and the way of planting them, is to make great Furrows, wherein, before they lay the Canes, they put a great many of the little Fish called Gudgeons :²⁰ Whether

these Fish serve to fatten the Earth, or that they add some qualitie to the Cane, the Indians pretend, that without that Manure the Canes would produce nothing that's good. They lay their pieces of Canes over these Fish, end to end, and from every joint of Cane so interred, their²¹ Springs a Sugar-cane, which they reap in their season.

The Soyl about *Surrat* is good for Rice also, and there is a great deal sown. *Manguiers* and Palm-trees of all kinds, and other sorts of Trees thrive well there, and yield great profit. The Dutch water their Ground with Well-Water, which is drawn by Oxen after the manner described in my Second Part ; but the Corn-land is never watered, because the Dew that falls plentifully in the Mornings, is sufficient for it.

The River of *Tapty* is always brackish at *Surrat*, and therefore the Inhabitants make no use of it, neither for Drink nor Watering of their Grounds, but only for washing their Bodies, which they do every Morning as all the other Indians do. They make use of Well-water to drink, and it is brought in *Borra-choes*²² upon Oxen. This River of it self is but little, for at High-water it is no broader than half of the River of *Seine* at *Paris* : Nevertheless it swells so in the Winter-time²³ by the Rain-water, that it furiously overflows, and makes great havock : It has its source in a place called *Gehar-Conde*,²⁴ in the Mountains of *Decan*, ten Leagues from *Brampour*.²⁵ It passes by that Town, and before it discharge it self into the Sea, it Waters several Countries, and washes many Towns, as last of all it does *Surrat*. At low Water, it runs to the Bar ; but when it flows²⁶ the Sea commonly advances two Leagues over that Bar, and so receives the Water of the *Tapty*.

The
River of
Tapty.

CHAPTER XV

THE PORT OF SURRAT.

The Bar of *Surrat*, where Ships come at present, is not its true Port ; at best it can be called but a Road ; and I had reason to say in the beginning of this Book, that it is called the Bar because of the Banks of Sand which hinder Ships from coming farther in. The truth is, there is so little Water there, that though the Vessels be unloaded, the ordinary Tides are not sufficient to bring them up, and they are obliged to wait for a Spring tide ; but then they come up¹ to *Surrat*, especially when they want to be careen'd. Small Barks come easily up to the Town with the least Tides.

The Port
of *Surrat*.

The true Port of *Surrat* is *Soualy*,² two Leagues from the Bar. It is distant from the Town four Leagues and a half ;

Soualy.

and to go to it by Land, they cross the River at the Town. All Vessels heretofore came to an Anchor in this Port, where the Ground is good ; but because the Customs were often stolen there, it is prohibited, and no Ship hath gone thither since the Year One thousand six hundred and sixty, but the English and Dutch who are suffered to Anchor there still, and have their several Magazins in that place. That Port affords them a fair opportunity of getting ashore what they please Custom-free ; and the Coaches of the Governours, Commanders, or Presidents of these two Nations, who often take the Air thereabouts, might easily carry off any thing of small bulk from on board their Ships. They have even Gardens at *Soualy* by the Sea-side, and each a small Harbour, where they put their Boats or Barks ; so that it is their own fault if they save not a great many things without paying Custom.

Since the Prohibition made to other Nations of coming to Anchor at *Soualy*, there are always a great many vessels at the Bar, though it be an incommodious Road for them ; for ships come from *Persia*, *Arabia Faelix*, and generally from all Countries of the *Indies* as formerly ; so that the Prohibition of putting into *Soualy* hath nothing lessened the Customs which yield the King yearly twelve *Lecks* of *Roupies*, each *Leck* being worth about an hundred thousand French Livres.³ The Master of the Custom-House is a *Moor*, and has his Commission from the Governour of *Surrat*. The Clerks are *Banians*, and the rest of the Officers of the Custom-House, as Waiters,⁴ Porters. and others, are also *Moors*, and they are called the *Pions* of the Custom-House.

CHAPTER XVI

OF THE IRRUPTION OF SIVAGY.

Sivagy.

The History
of Raja
Sivagy.

In *January 1664*. *Raja Sivagy* put the Customers and their Governour to a strange plunge¹; and seeing he is become famous by his actions, it will not be amiss, I think, to give a short History of him. This *Sivagy* is the Son of a Captain of the King of *Visiapours*,² and born at *Bassaim*³ being of a restless and turbulent Spirit, he rebelled in his Fathers life-time, and putting himself at the Head of several *Banditi*, and a great many debauched Young-Men, he made his part good in the Mountains of *Visiapour* against those that came to attack him,⁴ and could not be reduced. The King thinking that his Father kept intelligence⁵ with him, caused him to be arrested ;⁶ and he dying in Prison,⁷ *Sivagy* conceived so great a hatred against the King, that he used all endeavours to be revenged on him.

In a very short time he plundered part of *Visiapour*, and with the Booty he took made himself so strong in Men, Arms and Horses, that he found himself able⁸ enough to seize some Towns, and to form a little State in spite of the King, who died at that time. The Queen,⁹ who was Regent having other Affairs in hand, did all she could to reduce *Sivagy* to duty ; but her endeavours being unsuccessful, she accepted of the Peace he proposed to her, after which she lived in quiet.

The Queen
Regent of
Visiapour.

In the mean while, the *Raja*, who could not rest, plundered some places belonging to the *Great Mogul* ; which obliged that Emperour to send Forces against him, under the conduct of *Chasta-Can*¹⁰ his Uncle, Governour of *Aurangeabad*. *Chasta-Can* having far more Forces than *Sivagy* had, vigorously pursued him, but the *Raja* having his retreat always in the Mountains, and being extremely cunning the *Mogul* could make nothing of him.

Chasta-Can
Uncle to
the *Mogul*.

However that old Captain, at length, thinking that the turbulent Spirit of *Sivagy* might make him make some false step, judged it best to temporize, and lay a long while upon the Lands of the *Raja*. This Patience of *Chasta-Can* being very troublesome to *Sivagy*, he had his recourse to a Stratagem. He ordered one of his Captains to write to that *Mogul*, and to perswade him that he would come over to the service of the *Great Mogul*, and bring with him five hundred Men whom he had under his Command. *Chasta-Can* having receiv'd the Letters, durst not trust them at first ; but receiving continually more and more, and the Captain giving him such reasons for his discontent as looked very probable, he sent him word that he might come and bring his Men with him. No sooner was he come into the Camp of the *Moguls*, but he desired a Passport to go to the King that he might put himself into his Service : But *Chasta-Can* thought it enough to put him in hopes of it, and kept him with him.

A Stratagem
of War.

Sivagy had ordered him to do what he could to insinuate himself into the favour of *Chasta-Can*, and to spare no means that could bring that about, to shew upon all occasions the greatest rancour and animosity imaginable ; and in a particular manner to be the first in Action against him or his Subjects. He fail'd not to obey him : He put all to Fire and Sword in the *Raja's* Lands, and did much more mischief than all the rest besides ; which gained him full credit in the Mind of *Chasta-Can*, who at length made him Captain of his Guards. But he guarded him very ill, for having one Day sent word to *Sivagy*, that on a certain Night¹¹ he should be upon Guard at the General's Tent ;¹² the *Raja* came there with his Men, and being introduced by his Captain, came to *Chasta-Can*, who awaking flew to his Arms, and was wounded in the Hand ; however he made a shift to escape, but a Son of his was killed,¹³ and

Sivagy
surprizes
Chasta-Can.

Sivagy thinking that he had killed the General himself, gave the signal to retreat: He marched off with his Captain and all his Horse in good order. He carried off the Generals Treasure, and took his Daughter,¹⁴ to whom he rendered all the Honour he could. He commanded his Men under rigorous pains, not to do her the least hurt, but on the contrary, to serve her with all respect; and being informed that her Father was alive, he sent him word, That if he would send the Summ which he demanded for her Ransom, he would send him back his Daughter safe and sound; which was punctually performed.

Chasta-Can
retires for
fear of
Sivagy.

He wrote afterwards to *Chasta-Can* praying him to withdraw, and owned that the stratagem that had been practised was of his own contrivance; that he hatched¹⁵ a great many others for his ruine, and that if he drew not off¹⁶ out of his Lands, he should certainly lose his life. *Chasta-Can* slighted not the Advice: He informed the King, that it was impossible to force *Sivagy* in the Mountains; that he could not undertake it, unless he resolved to ruine his Troops; and he received Orders from Court to draw off under pretext of a new Enterprize.¹⁷ *Sivagy*, in the mean time, was resolved to be revenged on the *Mogul* by any means whatsoever, provided it might be to his advantage, and knowing very well that the Town of *Surrat* was full of Riches, he took measures how he might plunder it: But that no body might suspect his Design, he divided the Forces he had into two Camps; and seeing his Territories lie chiefly in the Mountains, upon the Road betwixt *Bassaim*¹⁸ and *Chaoul*,¹⁹ he pitched one Camp towards *Chaoul*, where he planted one of his Pavillions, and posted another at the same time towards *Bassaim*; and having ordered his Commanders not to plunder, but on the contrary, to pay for all they had, he secretly disguised himself in the habit of a *Faquir*.²⁰ Thus he went to discover the most commodious ways that might lead him speedily to *Surrat*: He entred the Town to examine the places of it, and by that means had as much time as he pleased to view it all over.

Sivagy's
first Camp
towards
Chaoul.
The other
towards
Bassaim.

Sivagy at
Surrat in
the habit of
a *Faquir*.

Sivagy
returns to
his Camp.

And comes
back to
Surrat
with four
thousand
men.

Being come back to his Chief Camp, he ordered four thousand of his Men to follow him without noise, and the rest to remain encamped, and to make during his absence as much noise as if all were there, to the end none might suspect the enterprise he was about, but think he was still in one of his Camps. Every thing was put in execution according to his orders. His march was secret enough, though he hastened it to surprise *Surrat*; and he came and Encamped near *Brampour-gate*. To amuse²¹ the Governour who sent to him, he demanded guides under pretence of marching to another place; but the Governour without sending him any Answer, retired into the Fort with what he had of the greatest value, and sent for assistance on all hands. Most of the Inhabitants

in consternation forsook their Houses and fled into the Country. *Sivagy's* Men entered the Town and plundered it²² for the space of four days burning several Houses. None but the *English* and *Dutch* saved their quarters from the pillage, by the vigorous defence they made, and by means of the Cannon they planted, which *Sivagy* would not venture upon, having none of his own.

The
Plundering
of *Surrat*.

Nor durst he venture to attack the Castle neither, though he knew very well that the richest things they had were conveyed thither, and especially a great deal of ready Money. He was affraid that attack might cost him too much time, and that assistance coming in might make him leave the plunder he had got in the Town; besides, the Castle being in a condition to make defence, he would not have come off so easily as he had done elsewhere. So that he marched off²³ with the Wealth he got:²⁴ And it is believed at *Surrat* that this *Raja* Carried away in Jewels, Gold and Silver, to the value of above thirty French Millions;^{24a} for in the House of one *Banian* he found twenty two Pound weight of strung Pearls,²⁵ besides a great quantity of others that were not as yet pierced.

22 lbs. of
Pearls in
the house of
one *Banian*.

One may²⁶ indeed wonder that so populous a Town should so patiently suffer it self to be Plundered by a handful of Men; but²⁷ the *Indians* for the most part are cowards.²⁸ No sooner did *Sivagy* appear with his small body of Men, but all fled, some to the Country to save themselves at *Baroche*, and others to the Castle, whither the Governour²⁹ retreated with the first. And none but the Christians of *Europe* made good³⁰ their Post and preserved themselves. All the rest of the Town was Plundered, except the Monastery of the *Capucins*. When the Plunderers came to their Convent, they past it by; and had Orders from their General to do so, because the first day in the Evening, Father *Ambrose*, who was Superiour of it, being moved with compassion for the poor Christians living in *Surrat*, went to the *Raja* and spake in their favour, praying him at least not to suffer any violence to be done to their Persons. *Sivagy* had a respect for him, took him into his protection, and granted what he had desired in favour of the Christians.³¹

The
Christians
of *Europe*
defended
themselves
against
Sivagy.
The
Capucins
escaped.

The *Great Mogul* was sensibly affected with the Pillage of that Town, and the boldness of *Sivagy*; but his Affairs not suffering³² him to pursue his revenge at that time, he dissembled his resentment and delayed it till another opportunity.

In the Year One thousand six hundred sixty six, *Auran-Zeb* resolved to dispatch him, and that he might accomplish his design, made as if³³ he approved what he had done, and praised it as the action of a brave Man, rejecting³⁴ the blame upon the Governour of *Surrat*, who had not the courage to oppose him. He expressed himself thus to the other *Rajas* of Court, amongst whom he knew *Sivagy* had a great many Friends; and told

Auran-Zeb
praises
Sivagy that
he may
allure him
to his Court.

them that he esteemed that Raja for his Valour, and wished he might come to Court; saying openly that he would take it as a pleasure if any would let him know so much. Nay he bid one of them write to him, and gave his Royal word that he should receive no hurt; that he might come with all security, that he forgot what was past, and that his Troops should be so well treated, that he should have no cause to complain. Several *Rajas* wrote what the King had said, and made themselves in a manner sureties for the performance of his word; so that he made no difficulty to come to Court, and to bring his Son with him, having first ordered his Forces to be always upon their Guard, under the Command of an able Officer whom he left to head them.³⁵

Sivagy's
coming to
Court.

At first he met with all imaginable caresses, but some Months after, perceiving a dryness³⁶ in the King, he openly complained of it, and boldly told him, that he believed he had a mind to put him to death, though he was come on his Royal word to wait upon him, without any constraint or necessity that obliged him to it; but that his Majesty might know what Man he was, from *Chasta-Can* and the Governour of *Surrat*: That after all if he Perished, there were those who would revenge his death; and that hoping they would do so,³⁷ he was resolved to die with his own hands, and drawing his Dagger, made an attempt to kill himself, but was hindered and had Guards set upon him.³⁸

The bold-
ness of
Sivagy in
speaking to
the King.

The King would have willingly put him to death, but he feared an insurrection of the *Rajas*. They already murmured at this usage notwithstanding the promise made to him; and all of them were so much the more concerned for him, that most part came only to Court upon the Kings word.³⁹ That consideration obliged *Auran-Zeb* to treat him well, and to make much of his Son. He told him that it was never in his thoughts to have him put to death, and flattered him with the hopes of a good Government^{39a} which he promised him, if he would go with him to *Candahar*,⁴⁰ which then he designed to Besiege. *Sivagy* pretended to consent, provided he might Command his own Forces. The King having granted him that, he desired a Pass-port for their coming, and having got it, resolved to make use of it for withdrawing from Court. He therefore gave Orders to those whom he entrusted with that Pass-port, and whom he sent before under pretence of calling his Forces, to provide him Horses in certain places which he named to them, and they failed not to do it. When he thought it time to go meet them, he got himself and his Son both to be carried privately in Panniers⁴¹ to the River-side. So soon as they were over, they mounted Horses that were ready for them, and then he told the Water-man,⁴² that he might go and acquaint the King, that he had carried over *Raja Sivagy*. They Posted it⁴³ day

Sivagy's
pretence.

His escape.

and night, finding always fresh Horses in the places he had appointed them to be brought to ; and they passed every where by virtue of the Kings Pass-port : But the Son unable to bear the fatigue of so hard Riding, died upon the Road.⁴⁴ The Raja left Money to have his body honourably Burnt, and arrived afterwards in good health in his own territories.

Auran-Zeb was extremely vext at that escape. Many believed that it was but a false report, and that he was put to death ; but the truth soon was known. This *Raja* is short and tawny, with quick eyes that shew a great deal of wit. He eats but once a day commonly, and is in good health ; and when he Plundered *Surrat* in the Year One thousand six hundred and sixty four, he was but thirty five years of Age.

Sivagy's
shape and
way of
living.

CHAPTER XVII

OF FATHER AMBROSE A CAPUCIN.

*Father Ambrose*¹ of whom I have spoken hath by his virtue and good services acquired a great Reputation in the Countries of the *Mogul*, and is equally esteemed of Christians and Gentils : And indeed, he hath a great deal of Charity for all. He commonly takes up² the difference that happen amongst Christians, and especially the Catholicks ; and he is so much Authorized by the *Mogul* Officers, that if one of the parties be so headstrong as not to be willing to come to an accommodation, by his own Authority he can make him consent to what is just. He makes no difficulty to cause a scandalous Christian to be put in Prison, and if complaint be made of it to the Governour or *Cotoual*, desiring that the Prisoner may be set at liberty, they both send the Petitioner to the Father, telling him that it is a matter they are not to meddle with. If the Supplicant find favour with them, they only offer their Intercession with the *Capucin* : and one day I saw a Man whom he had let out of Prison at the entreaty of the *Cotoual* severely chid by that Officer, because he had incurred the indignation of *Father Ambrose*. Those whose lives are too irregular he banishes the Town, and the *Cotoual* himself gives him *Pions* to force them out, with Orders to conduct them to the place the *Capucin* shall appoint.

Father
Ambrose a
Capucin.

The
Authority
of *Father*
Ambrose.

He employs his interest pretty often for the Heathen ; and I saw a Pagan whom they carried to Prison for a slight fault, delivered at his request. He disputes boldly concerning the Faith in the Governours presence ; and one day he reclaimed a Christian Woman debauched by one of the Queens Secretaries, who that she might live licentiously, had renounced her Religion and embraced the *Mahometan* ; and one Morning he himself

went and rescued her out of the hands of that Gentil. Indeed, his life hath been always without reproach, which is no small praise for a Man who lives in a Country where there are so many different Nations that live in so great disorders, and with whom his charge obliges him to keep company.

A MAHOMETAN FESTIVAL.

The Feast of
Choubret.

I thought I had observed in my Book of *Persia* all the Festivals which the *Moors* or *Mahometans* celebrate, but they had one in this Town which I had never seen before. They call it the Feast of *Choubret*,³ and believe that on that day the good Angels examine the Souls of the departed, and write down all the good that they have done in their life-times, and that the bad Angels sum up all their evil actions the same day. So that every one employs that day wherein they believe that God takes an account of the Actions of Men, in Praying to him, doing Alms-deeds,⁴ and sending one another Presents. They end the Festival with Lights and Bon-fires kindled in the Streets and publick places, and a great many Fire-works which flie about on all hands, whil'st the Rich mutually treat one another with Collations and Feasts which they make in the very Streets or Shops.

CHAPTER XVIII

OF THE OTHER TOWNS OF GUZERAT, AND THE SIEGE OF DIU BY THE TURKS, WHICH WAS DEFENDED BY THE PORTUGUESE

Broudra a
Town.

Ragea-pour
a Town.

Besides the Towns of the Province of *Guzerat* whereof I have spoken, there are above thirty others, on which depend a great many Bourgs and Villages ; but those which lie near the Sea, are the most considerable. *Broudra*¹ is one of the best, lying betwixt *Baroche* and *Cambaye*, but more towards the East, in a most fertile though sandy Country : it is a large modern Town, and retains the Name of another ruined Town, which is but three quarters of a League from it, and has been called *Broudra* and *Rageapour* :² It hath pretty good Walls and Towers, is inhabited by a great many *Banians* ; and seeing the finest Stuffs in *Guzerat* are made in this Town, it is full of Artizans who are continually employed in making of them. It hath above two hundred Bourgs and Villages within its Jurisdiction, and there is store³ of *Lacca*⁴ to be found therein, because it is gathered in abundance in the territory of one of its Bourgs called *Sindiguera*.⁵

The little Town of *Goga*⁶ is on the other side of the Gulf, *Goga* a about eight and twenty or thirty Leagues from *Cambaye*. It Town. abounds with *Banians* and Sea-men.

*Patan*⁷ lies more to the South, towards the great Sea ; it is *Patan* a a great Town, heretofore of much Trade, and affords still Town. abundance of Silk-stuffs that are made there. It hath a Fort and very beautiful Temple wherein are many Marble-pillars. Idoles were Worshipped there, but at present it serves for a *Mosque*.

The Town of *Diu*⁸ belongs to the *Portuguese*, and lies also in the Province of *Guzerat*, fortified with three Castles. It stands at the entry of the Gulf of *Cambaye* to the right hand, in twenty two degrees eighteen minutes Latitude,⁹ and two hundred Leagues from Cape *Comorin*. Before *Surrat* and *Cambaye* came into reputation, it had the advantage of most of the Commerce that at present is made in those two Towns. Its first Castle *Campson* was built in the Year fifteen hundred and fifteen,¹⁰ by Sultan of *Albuquerque*^{10a} a *Portuguese*. *Campson*¹¹ the last but one of *Egypt*. sent an Army against the *Portuguese*, which perished there. *Mammelukes*. They were not then Masters of the Town, and had no more but the Castle.

Sultan *Soliman*¹⁴ Emperour of the *Turks*, sent and besieged *Sultan* it in the year One thousand five hundred and thirty eight,¹⁵ *Soliman*. at the desire of the same King of *Guzerat*, named *Badur*¹⁶ (for King of that Country belonged not then to the *Moguls*) and his success *Guzerat*. was no better than that of the Sultan of *Egypt*. *Solimans* Fleet *Solimans* consisted of threescore and two Gallies, six Gallions, and a great Fleet and Army. many other smaller Vessels fitted out at *Suez* in the Red Sea, which had on board four thousand *Janisaries*,¹⁷ and sixteen thousand other Soldiers; not to reckon Gunners, Sea-men, and Pilotes. It parted from *Suez* in *June*, and a *Basha*¹⁸ called *Soliman*¹⁹ who commanded it, in his passage Seized the Town of *Aden*, by horrible treachery, and hanged the King of it.²⁰ *Aden*.

When this Fleet came before *Diu*, it was joyned by four-score Sail of Ships of the Country, and so soon as the Forces were put a-shore, they landed fifty pieces of Cannon,²¹ where-with they battered the Citadel, which on the other side was besieged by a Land-army of the King of *Guzerat*. Many brave Actions happened during that Siege. The Governour of the Citadel called *Silveira*²² a *Portuguese*, shew'd so much Valour *Silveira* a and Prudence, in resisting the several assaults and attacks of the *Portuguese*. *Turks* and *Indians*, that he forced them to raise the Siege shamefully, and to forsake their Pavillions,²³ Ammunition and Artillery, to leave above a thousand wounded Men in their Camp, above a thousand more that were out a foraging, and fifty pieces of Cannon besides, which were Seized by the *Portuguese*.

Stones of
Cobra.

In this Town of *Diu* the so much famed Stones of *Cobra*²⁴ are made, they are composed of the Ashes of burnt roots, mingled with a kind of Earth they have, and once again burnt with that Earth, which afterwards is made up into a Paste, of which these Stones are formed. They are used against the stings of Serpents and other venomous Creatures, or when one is wounded with a Poysonous Weapon. A little Blood is to be let out of the Wound with the prick of a Needle, and the Stone applied thereto which must be left till it drop off of it self. Then it must be put into Womans milk ; or if none can be had, into that of a Cow, and there it leaves all the Venom it hath imbibed ; for if it be not so used, it will burst.

Stings of
Serpents.

The
Remedy.

Nariad and
Mamadebad
Towns.

Betwixt *Broudra* and *Amedabad*, there are two Towns more, of indifferent bigness, the one called *Nariad*,²⁵ and the other *Mamadebad*,²⁶ where many Stuffs are made, and the latter furnishes the greatest part of Guzerat, and other Neighbouring Countries with Cotton-thread. I shall treat no more here of the other Towns of this Kingdom, because there being but little worth remarking in them, the discription would be tedious. It pays commonly to the Great *Mogul* Twenty Millions five hundred thousand French Livres a Year.

The
Revenue of
the Province
of *Guzerat*.

CHAPTER XIX

OF THE PROVINCE AND TOWN OF AGRA.

Agra.

Agra is one of the largest Provinces of *Mogulistan*,¹ and its Capital Town which bears the same Name, is the greatest Town of the *Indies*. It is distant from *Surrat* about two hundred and ten Leagues, which they make commonly in five and thirty or six and thirty days Journey of Caravan, and it lies in the Latitude of twenty eight dcgrees and half² on the River *Gemna*,³ which some call *Geminy*, and Pliny *Jomanes*. This River hath its source in the Mountains to the North of *Dehly*, from whence descending towards this Town, and receiving several rivulets in its course, it makes a very considerable River. It runs by *Agra*, and having traversed several Countries, falls into the *Ganges* at the great Town of *Halbas*.⁴

Gemna a.
River.
Jomanes
River.
The course
of *Gemna*.

Bacchus.

There is no need of taking the pains that some have done, to have recourse to *Bacchus* for illustrating *Agra* by an ancient Name.⁵ Before King *Echar*, it was no more but a Bourg which had a little Castle of Earth, and pretended to no privilege over its Neighbours upon account of Antiquity ; and indeed, there were never any marks of that to be found.

That Prince being pleased with the seat of it, joyned several Villages thereunto : He gave them the form of a Town

by other buildings which he raised, and called it after his own Name *Ecbar-Abad*,⁶ the habitation of *Ecbar*, where he established the seat of his Empire, in the year One thousand five hundred threescore and six. His declaration of that was enough to People it; for when the Merchants came to understand that the Court was there, they came from all parts, and not only the *Banian* Traders flocked thither, but Christians also of all Perswasions, as well as Mahometans, who strove in emulation who should furnish it with greatest variety of Goods; and seeing that Prince called the *Jesuits* thither, and gave them a Pension to subsist on, Catholick Merchants made no scruple to come and live there, and to this day these Fathers take the care of Spirituals, and teach their Children.

Agra called Ecbar-Abad.

Merchants
Flock to
Agra.

Jesuits at
Agra.

Though this Prince pretended⁷ to make *Agra* a place of consequence, yet he Fortified it not neither with ramparts, Walls, nor Bastions, but only with a Ditch, hoping to make it so strong in Soldiers and Inhabitants, that it should not need to fear the attempts of any Enemy. The Castle was the first thing that was built, which he resolved to make the biggest at that time in the *Indies*; and the situation of the old one appearing good and commodious, he caused it to be demolished, and the foundations of the present to be laid. It was begirt with a Wall of Stone and Brick terrassed in several places, which is twenty⁸ Cubits high, and betwixt the Castle and River a large place⁹ was left for the exercises the King should think fit to divert himself with.

Castle of
Agra.

The Kings Palace is in the Castle. It contains three Courts adorned all round with Porches and Galleries that are Painted and Gilt; nay there are some peeces¹⁰ covered with plates of Gold. Under the Galleries of the first Court, there are Lodgings made for the Kings Guards: The Officers Lodgings are in the second; and in the third, the stately appartments of the King and his Ladies; from whence he goes commonly to a lovely Divan which looks to the River, there to please himself with seeing Elephants fight, his Troops exercise, and Plays¹¹ which he orders to be made upon the Water, or in the open place.

The Kings
Palace at
Agra.

This Palace is accompanied with five and twenty or thirty other very large ones, all in a line, which belong to the Princes and other great Lords of Court; and all together afford a most delightful prospect to those who are on the other side of the River, which would be a great deal more agreeable, were it not for the long Garden-walls, which contribute much to the rendering the Town so long as it is.¹² There are upon the same line several less Palaces and other Buildings. All being desirous to enjoy the lovely prospect and convenience of the Water of the *Gemna*, endeavoured to purchase ground on that side, which is the cause that the Town is very long but narrow,

Palaces of
the great
men at
Agra.

and excepting some fair Streets that are in it, all the rest are very narrow, and without Symmetry.

Square
places at
Agra.

*Quervan-
seras* of
Agra.

Baths of
Agra.

Sepulchres
of *Agra*.

The
Sepulchre
of King
Ecbar.

Before the Kings Palace, there is a very large Square, and twelve other besides of less extent within the Town. But that which makes the Beauty of *Agra* besides the Palaces I have mentioned, are the *Quervanseras* which are above threescore in number ; and some of them have six large Courts with their Portico's, that give entry to very commodious Appartments, where stranger Merchants have their Lodgings: There are above eight hundred Baths in the Town, and a great number of Mosques, of which some serve for Sanctuary. There are many magnificent Sepulchres in it also, several great Men having had the ambition to build their own in their own lifetime, or to erect Monuments to the memory of their Forefathers.

King *Gehanguir* caused one to be built for King *Ecbar* his Father, upon an eminence of the Town.¹³ It surpasses in magnificence all those of the *Grand Signiors*, but the fairest of all, is that which *Cha-Gehan* Erected in honour of one of his Wives called *Tadge-Mehal*,¹⁴ whom he tenderly loved, and whose death had almost cost him his life. I know that the Learned and curious Mr. Bernier¹⁵ hath taken memoires of it, and therefore I did not take the pains to be exactly informed of that work. Only so much I'll say that this King having sent for all the able Architects of the *Indies* to *Agra*, he appointed a Council of them for contriving and perfecting the Tomb which he intended to Erect, and having settled Salaries upon them, he ordered them to spare no cost in making the finest *Mausoleum* in the World, if they could. They com-
pleated it after their manner, and succeeded to his satisfaction.

The
beautiful
Mausoleum
of *Tadge-
Mehal*.

The stately Garden¹⁶ into which all the parts of that *Mausoleum* are distributed, the great Pavillions with their Fronts, the beautiful Porches, the lofty dome that covers the Tomb, the lovely disposition of its Pillars, the raising of Arches which support a great many Galleries, Quiochques and Terrasses, make it apparent enough that the Indians are not ignorant in Architecture. It is true, the manner of it seems odd to Europeans ; yet it hath its excellency, and though it be not like that of the Grecks and other Ancients, yet the Fabrick may be said to be very lovely. The Indians say that it was twenty years¹⁷ in building, that as many Men as could labour in the great work¹⁸ were employed, and that it was never interrupted during that long space of time.

The Tomb
of King
Gehanguir.

The King hath not had the same tenderness for the memory of his Father *Gehanguir*, as for that of his Wife *Tadge-Mahal* ; for he hath raised no magnificent Monument for him : And that *Great Mogul* is Interred in a Garden, where his Tomb is only Painted upon the portal.¹⁹

Now after all the Air of Agra is very incommodious²⁰ in the Summer-time, and it is very likely that the excessive heat which scorches the Sands that environ this Town, was one of the chief causes which made King *Cha-Gehan* change the Climate, and chuse to live at *Dehly*. Little thought this Prince that one day he would be forced to live at *Agra*, what aversion soever he had to it,²¹ and far less still, that he should be Prisoner²² there in his own Palace, and so end his days in affliction and trouble. That misfortune though befel him, and *Auran-Zeb* his third Son, was the cause of it,²³ who having got the better of his Brothers, both by cunning and force, made sure of the Kings Person and Treasures, by means of Soldiers whom he craftily slipt²⁴ into the Palace, and under whose Custody the King was kept till he died.

The Air of *Agra*.

King *Cha-Gehan* prisoner in his Palace.

Auran-Zeb imprisoned the King his Father.

So soon as *Auran-Zeb* knew that his Father was in his Power, he made himself be proclaimed King: He held his Court at *Dehly*, and no party was made²⁵ for the unfortunate King, though many had been raised by his bounty and liberalities. From that time forward *Auran-Zeb* Reigned without trouble; and the King his Father dying in Prison about the end of the year One thousand six hundred sixty six,²⁶ he enjoyed at ease the Empire, and that so famous Throne of the *Moguls*,²⁷ which he had left in the Prisoners apartment to divert him with. He added to the precious Stones that were set about it, those of the Princes his Brothers, and particularly the Jewels of *Begum-Saheb*²⁸ his Sister, who died after her Father; and whose death (as it was said,) was hastened by Poison. And in fine,²⁹ he became absolute Master of all, after he had overcome and put to death *Dara-Cha* his Eldest Brother, whom *Cha-Gehan* had designed for the Crown. That King is Interred on the other side of the River, in a Monument which he began, but is not finished.³⁰

Auran-Zeb proclaimed King.

The death of King *Cha-Gehan*.

Begum-Saheb Sister to *Auran-Zeb*.

The Sepulchre of *Cha-Gehan*.

The Town of *Agra* is Populous as a great Town ought to be, but not so as to be able to send out Two hundred thousand fighting men into the Field, as some have written. The Palaces and Gardens take up the greatest part of it, so that its extant is no infallible Argument of the number of its Inhabitants. The ordinary Houses are low, and those of the commoner sort of People are but Straw, containing but few People a piece; and the truth is, one may walk the Streets without being crouded, and meet with no throng but when the Court is there: But at that time, I have been told there is great confusion, and infinite numbers of People to be seen; and no wonder indeed,³¹ seeing the Streets are narrow, and that the King besides his Household, (who are many,) is always attended by an Army for his Guard; and the *Rajas*, *Omras*, *Mansepdars*³² and other great Men, have great Retinues, and most part of the Merchants also follow the Court, not to reckon

a vast number of Tradesmen, and thousands of followers who have all their subsistence from it.

Christians
at *Agra*.

Dutch
Factory
at *Agra*.

Some affirm that there are twenty five thousand Christian Families in *Agra*,^{32a} but all do not agree in that. This indeed is certain, that there are few Heathen and *Parsis* in respect of³³ *Mahometans* there, and these³⁴ surpass all the other Sects in power, as they do in number. The Dutch have a Factory in the Town;³⁵ but the English have none now, because it did not turn to account.

Mr. *Beber*
Robbed.

The Officers are the same as at *Surrat*, and do the same Duties, and it is just so in all the great Towns of the Empire. We told you³⁶ that the *Foursdar* or Prevost, is to answer for all the Robberies committed in the Country ; And that was the reason why Mr. *Beber*, one of the Envoys to the great *Mogul*, for the concerns of the *East-India* Company in *France*, having been Robbed, demanded from that Officer of *Agra*, the Sum of thirty one thousand two hundred *Roupies*, which he affirmed were taken from him. That Sum astonished the *Foursdar* who told him that he did not believe he had lost so much ; and because the Envoy made Answer that the sum would certainly encrease, if he delayed to pay down the Money, and if he gave him time to call to mind a great many things which he had forgot ; He wrote to the *Great Mogul*, and informed him that it was impossible that that Envoy could have lost so great a Sum. *Monsieur Beber* had also made his addresses at Court ; but it being pretty difficult to give an equitable sentence in the Case, the King, that he might make an end of it, commanded the *Foursdar* to pay the Envoy fifteen thousand *Roupies*, and because he was wounded when he was Robbed, he ordered him out of his Exchequer, ten thousand *Roupies* for his Blood.

Liberality
of the
Great Mogul.

CHAPTER XX

OF THE HABITS AT AGRA.

Habits at
Agra.

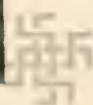
Moors.

Breeches.

For so many different Nations as are at *Agra*, as well as in the rest of the Indies, there is pretty great uniformity in the manner of apparel ; and none but the *Mahometans* called *Moors* by the *Portuguese*, distinguish themselves outwardly by a particular kind of Coif, or head-attire, but in all things else, they are clothed as the rest. The Breeches of the Indians are commonly of Cotten-cloath, they come down to the mid leg, and some wear them a little longer, so that they reach to the Anckle. They who affect Rich Clothing, wear Silk breeches striped with different colours, which are so long that



The Moor's headgear



they must be plated upon the Leg, much in the same manner as formerly Silk-stockings were worn in *France*.

The Shirt hangs over the Breeches, as the fashion is all *Shirts*. over the *Levant*. These Shirts are fastened as the Persians are,¹ and heretofore had no greater opening than theirs; but because the Moors Shirts are open from top to bottom, as their upper Garments, which they call *Cabas*² are; many People at present wear them in that fashion, because they find them, more commodious,³ being more easily put on and off: Besides that when one is alone, he may open them and take the fresh Air.

When it is cold Weather, the Indians wear over their *Arcaluck*. Shirt an *Arcaluck*⁴ or *Just au corps* quilted with Cotten and Pinked, the outside whereof is commonly of a schite⁵ or Painted stuff. The colours upon them are so good and lively, that though they be soiled by wearing, yet they look as fresh again as at first when they are washed. They make the Flowers and other motely colours that are upon the Stuffs with Moulds.

Over the *Arcaluck* they put the *Caba*, which is an upper *Caba*. Garment, but then it must be supposed the weather is not hot; for if there be but the least heat, they wear no *Arcaluck*, and the *Caba* is put next the Shirt. The *Caba* of the Indians is wider than that of the Persians, and I cannot tell how to express the manner of it more intelligibly, then by saying it is a kind of gown with a long Jerkin⁶ fastened to it, open before, and pleated from top to bottom, to hinder it from being too clutterly.⁷ It hath a collar two fingers breadth high, of the same Stuff with the rest, they button not that Vest as we do our Coats, but they fold it cross ways over the Stomack; first from the right to the left, and then from the left to the right. They tie it with Ribbons of the same Stuff, which are two Fingers broad and a Foot long; and there are seven or eight of them from the upper part down to the Haunches, of which they only tie the first and last, and let the rest hang negligently as being more graceful.

These *Cabas* are commonly made of white Stuff, that's to say of Cotten-cloath, to the end they may be the lighter, and the neater by being often washed; and that agrees with the fashion of the Ancient Indians. I say of Cotton-cloath, *There is no Flax in the Indies.* because they use no other in the *Indies*, and have no Flax there: Nevertheless some wear them of Painted cloath, but that is not the Gentilest manner of Apparel, and when the Rich do not wear White they use Silk, and chuse the broadest Stuff they can find, which commonly is streaked with several colours.

They use only one Girdle, whereas the Persians have two, Girdle. nay and it is not very dear neither, being only of White-

cloath, and it is rare to see the Indians make use of the lovely Girdles of Persia, unless they be wealthy persons of Quality.

When it is very cold, the Indians wear over all the Cloaths I have been speaking of, a Garment or Vest called *Cadeby*,⁸ and then the Rich have very costly ones. They are of Cloath of Gold, or other Rich Stuff, and are lined with Sables which cost very dear.

At all times when they go abroad, they wear a *Chal*⁹ which is a kind of toilet¹⁰ of very fine Wool made at *Cachmir*.¹¹ These *Chals* are about two Ells¹² long and an Ell broad; they are sold at five and twenty or thirty Crowns a piece if they be fine, nay there are some that cost fifty Crowns but these are extraordinary fine.¹³ They put that *Chal* about their Shoulders, and tie the two ends of it upon their Stomack, the rest hanging down behind to the small of their Back. Some wear them like a Scarf, and sometimes they bring one end to the Head, which they dress in manner of a Coif. They have of them of several colours, but those the *Banians* wear are most commonly *Fild-de-mort*,¹⁴ and the Poor, or such as will not be at the¹⁵ charges, wear them of plain Cloath.

The *Turban* worn in the *Indies* is commonly little. That of the Mahometans is always White, and the Rich have them of so fine a Cloath, that five and twenty or thirty Ells of it which are put into a *Turban*, will not weigh¹⁶ four Ounces. These lovely Cloaths are made about *Bengale*: They are dear, and one single *Turban* will cost five and Twenty Crowns. They who affect a Richer attire, have them mixed with Gold; but a *Turban* of that Stuff costs several *Tomans*, and I have said elsewhere that a *Toman*¹⁷ is worth about forty five French *Livres*.

These *Turbans* wreathed as they ought to be, much resemble the shape of the Head, for they are higher behind by four or five Fingers breadth than before,¹⁸ so that the upper part of the Head is only well covered; and I have seen Paisant women in *France*, whose Coiffing lookt pretty like that kind of *Turban*.¹⁹

The Indians wear their Hair for Ornament, contrary to²⁰ the Mahometans who shave their Heads; and in that, as in many other things, the Indians imitate their Ancestours.

As for Stockings the Indians are at no charge, for they use neither Stockings nor Socks, but put their Shoes on their naked Feet. The stuff they are made of is *Maroquin*, or *Turkey-leather*, and they are much of the same shape as the *Papouches*²¹ of the Turks; but the Persons of Quality have them bordered with Gold, and they have behind a kind of a heel of the same stuff as the instip, which most commonly they fold down, as they do who go with their Shoes slipshod. However the *Banians* wear the heel of theirs up because being

Cadeby,
Lovely
Vests
at *Agra*.
Chal or
Toilet.

The
Turban of
the *Indies*.

Cloath
whereof 25
or 30 Ells
do not
weigh
four
Ounces.

The form
of the
Turbans
at *Agra*.

The
Indians
wear
their
Hair.
Hose and
Shoes.

men of business they would²² walk with freedom, which is very hard to be done,²³ when the Foot is not on all sides begirt with the Shoe.

The Rich *Banians* cover the upper Leather of theirs with Velvet,²⁴ Embrodered with great Flowers of Silk ; and the rest are satisfied with red Leather and small Flowers, or some other Galantry²⁵ of little value.

The Shoes or Papouches of the *Banians*.

The *Mogul* Women who would distinguish themselves from others, are Cloathed almost like the Men ; however the sleeves of their Smocks, as those of the other *Indian* Women, reach not below the Elbow, that they may have liberty to adorn the rest of their Arm with Carkanets²⁶ and Bracelets of Gold, Silver and Ivory, or set with Precious Stones, as likewise they do the small of their Legs. The ordinary Smocks of the *Indian* Idolatrous Women reach down only to the middle, as does the Waste-coat of Sattin or Cloath, which they wear over it, because from the Waste down-wards they wrap themselves up in a piece of Cloath or Stuff, that covers them to the Feet like a Petticoat ; and that Cloath is cut in such a manner, that they make one end of it reach up to their Head behind their Back.

The Womens Apparel.

They wear no other Apparel neither within Doors, nor abroad in the Streets, and for Shoes they have high Pattins.

They wear a little flat Ring of Gold or Silver in their Ears, with engraving upon it ; and they adorn their Noses with Rings which they put through their Nostril.

The *Indians* Smocks. Their Waste-coats.

Rings also are the Ornaments of their Fingers, as they are in other places : They wear a great many, and as they love to see themselves, they have always one with a Looking-Glass set in it,²⁷ instead of a Stone, which is an Inch in diametre. If these *Indian* Women be Idolators, they go barefaced ; and if *Mahometans*, they are Vailed. There are some Countries in the *Indies*, where the Women as well as Men go naked²⁸ to the middle, and the rest of their Body is only covered to the Knee.

The *Indian* Women adorn their Nose and Ears with Rings. A Finger Looking-Glass. *Indian* Women naked to the middle.

CHAPTER XXI

OF OTHER CURIOSITIES AT AGRA.

There are a great many at *Agra*, who are curious in breeding up of Beasts, to have the pleasure to make them Fight together : But seeing they cannot reach to¹ Elephants and Lions, because it costs dear² to feed them, most part³ content themselves with⁴ He-goats, Weathers, Rams, Cocks, Quails, Stags, and Antilopes, to entertain their Friends with the Fightings of these Beasts.

Fighting of Beasts.

Indian
Antilopes.

The *Indian Antilopes*,⁵ are not altogether like those of other Countries ; they have even a great deal more courage, and are to be distinguished by the Horns. The Horns of the ordinary Antilopes are greyish, and but half as long as the Horns of those in the *Indies*, which are blackish, and a large Foot and a half long. These Horns grow winding to the point like a screw ; and the *Faquirs* and *Santons*⁶ carry commonly two of them pieced together ; they are armed with Iron at both ends, and they make use of them, as of a little Staff.⁷

Leopard.

When they use not⁸ a tame Leopard for catching of Antilopes, they take with them a Male of the kind, that is tame, and fasten a Rope about his Horns with several nooses and doubles, the two ends whereof are tied under his Belly ; so soon as they discover a Heard of Antilopes, they slip this Male, and he runs to joyn them : The Male of the Heard advances to hinder him, and making no other opposition, but by playing with his Horns, he fails not to be pestered⁹ and entangled with his Rival, so that it being uneasy¹⁰ for him to retreat, thê Huntsman cunningly catches hold on him, and carries him off ; but it is easier so to catch the Male than the Females.

Pidgeons.

There are Pidgeons in that Country all over green,¹¹ which differ from ours only in colour : The Fowlers take them with Bird-lime, in this manner ; they carry before them a kind of light Shed or Screen, that covers the whole Body, and has holes in it to see through ; the Pidgeons seeing no Man, are not at all scared when the Fowler draws near, so that he cunningly catches them, one after another, with a Wand and Bird lime on it, none offering to flie away. In some places Parroquets are taken after the same manner.

A Screen
for
Fowling.

The
catching of
Water-fowl.

The *Indians* are very dexterous at Game ;¹² they take Waterfowl^{12a} with great facility, as thus : The Fowlers swim almost upright, yet so, that they have their Head above Water, which they hide with a Pot full of holes, to let in the Air, and give them sight. Besides, this Pot is covered with Feathers, to cheat the Ducks, and other Fowl ; so that when the Fowler draws near them, they are not in the least scared, taking that floating head for a Fowl ; and then the Fowler makes sure of them by the Feet, which he catches hold of under Water, and draws them down : The other Ducks seeing no body, think that their comrades have only dived, and are not at all scared ; so that growing acquainted with the Feathered head, that still follows them, they are at length all taken, whil'st in vain they stay¹³ for the return of those who have dived, before they flie away to another place.

Nerouer.

The Huntsmen of *Agra* go five Days Journey from the Town, as far as a Mountain called *Nerouer*,¹⁴ where there is a mine of excellent Iron ; but their business in going so far is

only to catch a kind of Wild Cows which they call *Merous*,¹⁵ that are to be found in a Wood round this Hill, which is upon the Road from *Surrat* to *Golconda*; and these Cows being commonly very lovely, they make great advantage of them.¹⁶

Merous,
Wild Cows.

One may see a great many Pictures in the Indies upon Paper and Past-board, but generally they are dull pieces, and none are esteemed but those of *Agra* and *Dehly*: However, since those of *Agra* are for the most part indecent, and represent Lacivious Postures, worse than those of *Aretin*,¹⁷ there are but few civil Europeans that will buy them.

Indian
Pictures.

They have a way in this Town of working in Gold upon Agat, Chrystal, and other brittle matters,¹⁸ which our Goldsmiths and Lapidaries have not. When the Indians would beautifie Vessels, Cups, or Coffers; besides the Circles of Gold they put about them, they engrave Flowers and other Figures, and also enchase Stones upon them. They cut leaves of Gold to fill up the void spaces of the Figures, lay several pieces one upon another, and enchase them so artificially¹⁹ in the hollow places, with an Iron Instrument like a Graver, that when the void spaces are filled up, it looks like Massie²⁰ Gold. They do the same with Stones, they encompass them also with such pieces of Leaf-Gold, and press them in so close that the Stones hold very well.

Working
upon Agat
and
Chrystal.

They make Rings about Vessels, either about the middle or brims, of a kind of Gold made into little round Rods, which they beat upon an Anvil, till they be reduced into flat thin Plates; then they take the measure of the part of the Vessel which they would incircle,²¹ and having most exactly bent the Ring, they Soulder the two ends of it together, and put it upon the part of the Vessel they intend it for; so that it holds very well, provided one have the skill to adjust it true to the place marked: If Handles be necessary to the Vessels, or Locks for the Coffers of Agat or Crystal, they soulder them to the Ring with the same Art that they souldered the two ends of it; but they do it after another way than our Goldsmiths do. For that end they make use of little red Beans which are black at the end, and are the fruit of a *Convolvulus*, called in Indian *Gomitchi*, and in the *Telenghi* Language, *Gourghindel*.²² They peel off the Skin which is dry and hard, and taking the inside of the Bean that is yellowish, they grind it upon an Iron-Plate with a little Water till it be dissolved into a Liquid Solution; then they pound a little bit of Borax, mix it with that Solution, and with this mixture dawb the ends which they intend to soulder, and having heated them with a Coal, joyn them together; so that the two sides close fast and hold extraordinarily well.

This work is performed by poor People, and sometimes by little Boys, who do it very skilfully and quickly, for a matter of two Crowns for each tole of Gold; and something is also

given to him that beats and flattens the Rods of Gold: However none of these People know how to Enammel Gold.

Fetipour.
Sicari.

The Province of *Agra* hath above fourty Towns in its dependance, and, as they say, above three thousand four hundred Villages. *Fetipour*^{22a} is one of the Towns; it was heretofore called *Sicari*, and the Name *Fetipour*, which signifies, *The enjoyment of what one desires*, was given it by *Ecbar*, because of the happy news he received there of the birth of a Son,²³ when he was upon his return from a Warlike expedition. This Town is about six Leagues from *Agra*; it hath been very lovely, and that *Great Mogul* in the beginning of his Reign, having rebuilt the Walls of it, made it the Capital of his Empire. But the Ambition Kings have to make small things great, prompting *Ecbar* to build a Town where there was nothing but a Village, or at most, but a Bourg named *Agra*,^{23a} the Town of *Fetipour* was not only neglected, but hath been since wholly abandoned; for so soon as *Agra* was become a Town, and that the King had given it his Name, calling it *Ecbarabad*, a place built by *Ecbar*, he went to reside there and forsook *Fetipour*.

Agra a
Bourg.

Ecbarabad.

A lovely
Meidan at
Fetipour.

A fair
Mosque at
Fetipour,
Calenders.

The cause
of forsaking
Fetipour.

Though this Town of *Fetipour* be much decay'd, yet there is still a large Square to be seen in it, adorned with fair Buildings; and the stately entry of *Ecbar's* Palace²⁴ is still entire, and has adjoining to it one of the loveliest Mosques²⁵ in the East, built by a Mahometan a *Calender*²⁶ by profession, who lies buried there as a Saint.²⁷ The *Calenders* are Dervishes who go bare-footed. This Mosque is still adorn'd with all its Pillars, and lovely Seelings, and indeed, with all that can beautifie a fair Temple. Near to it there is a great Reservatory²⁸ which supplied the whole Town with Water, and was the more necessary that all the Springs thereabouts are Salt; and the unwholsome Waters were one of the chief causes that obliged the *Great Mogul* to settle elsewhere.

Beruzabad,
Chitpour.

Bargant,
Chalaour,
Vetapour,
Mirda,
Ladona,
Hindon,
Canova,
Byana, and
Scanderbade, all
Towns of
Agra.

*Beruzabad*²⁹ is one of the Towns of *Agra*. *Chitpour*³⁰ is another, and has a great trade in Schites or painted Cloaths. *Bargant*³¹ is likewise one, which belongs to a *Raja* who exacts some dues. *Chalaour*³² stands upon a Hill. At *Vetapour*³³ lovely Tapisstry is made. *Mirda*,³⁴ *Ladona*,³⁵ *Hindon*,³⁶ *Canova*,³⁷ *Byana*,³⁸ and *Scanderbade*,³⁹ are also Towns of *Agra*. These last furnish the best Indigo of the Indies. Two Leagues from *Byana* there are to be seen the Ruins of Ancient Palaces, and other Buildings; as also some very considerable ones upon a little Hill some Leagues from *Scanderbade*. At the Foot of the Hill on the side of that Town, there is a lovely Valley walled in, divided into several Gardens, and the Ruins of several Buildings, which is not to be wondered at, seeing heretofore *Scanderbade* was several Leagues long, having been the Capital City of a powerful King of the Patans;⁴⁰ and the Hill it self made part of the Town, which was afterwards sack'd and ruin'd



A woman robber

by *Ecbar*, when he took it from *Raja Selim*,⁴¹ who made it his chief Garrison and Magazin.

*Raja
Selim.*

Upon the Road from *Agra* to *Byana* there is a Royal-House, built by the Queen Mother of *Ecbar*,⁴² with Gardens kept in very good order : There are also in *Byana* some *Serraglio*'s and a long *Meidan*, but that Town is thin of Inhabitants. *Seronge*⁴³ hath also been named to me amongst the Towns of the Province of *Agra*, and Schites are made there, which in beauty come near those of *St. Thomas*. There are a great many other Towns, whose Names I know not. The chief Rivers that water *Agra*, are the *Gemna* or *Geminy*, *Lanque*,⁴⁴ *Cham-Elnady*,⁴⁵ *Geogonady*,⁴⁶ *Singour* ;⁴⁷ and a great many smaller.

The Royal
House of
King
Ecbar's
Mother.
Gemna or
Geminy,
Lanque,
*Cham-
Elnady*,
Geogonady,
Singour, all
Rivers of
Agra.
The
Revenue
of *Agra*.

The Kings Revenue in this Province of *Agra*, is reckoned to amount to above thirty seven Millions of French-Livres a Year.

CHAPTER XXII

OF THE PROVINCE OR TOWN OF DEHLY, OR GEHAN-ABAD.

The Province of *Dehly* bounds that of *Agra* to the North, and at present the *Great Mogul Auran-zeb* keeps his Court in the chief City of it, which is about fourty five Leagues distant from *Agra*. In *Indostan* it is called *Gehan-abad*,¹ and elsewhere *Dehly*.

The
Province
of *Dehly*.
*Gehan-
Abad*.

The Road betwixt these two Towns is very pleasant ; it is that famous Alley or Walk² one hundred and fifty Leagues in length, which King *Gehanguir* planted with Trees, and which reaches not only from *Agra* to *Dehly*, but even as far as *Lahors*. Each half League is marked with a kind of Turret : There are threescore and nine or threescore and ten of them betwixt the two Capital Cities, and besides there are little *Serraglio*'s or *Carvanseras*, from Stage to Stage for lodging Travellers. However there is nothing worth the observing about these *Serraglios*, unless in that which is called *Chekiserai*,³ which is six Leagues from *Agra*. In that place there is the Ancient Temple of an Idol, and it may be reckoned amongst the largest and fairest Pagods of the Indies. It was more frequented than now it is, when the *Gemna* washed the Walls thereof,⁴ because of the convenience of Ablutions : But though that River hath fallen off⁵ almost half a League from it, yet many Indians still resort thither, who forget not to bring with them Food for the Apes that are kept in an Hospital built for them.

A Walk
of 150
Leagues.

The
Pagod of
Chekiserai.

An Hospital
for Apes.

Though the Road I have been speaking of be tolerable, yet it hath many inconveniencies. One may meet with Tygres,

The
Robbers
Snare.

Panthers and Lions upon it ; and one had best also have a care of Robbers, and above all things not to suffer any body to come near one upon the Road. The cunningest Robbers⁶ in the World are in that Countrey. They use a certain Slip with a running-noose, which they can cast with so much slight⁷ about a Mans Neck, when they are within reach of him, that they never fail ; so that they strangle him in a trice. They have another cunning trick also to catch Travellers with : They send out a handsome Woman upon the Road, who with her Hair deshevelled, seems to be all in Tears, sighing⁸ and complaining of some misfortune which she pretends has befallen her : Now as she takes the same way that the Traveller goes, he easily falls into Conversation with her, and finding her beautiful, offers her his assistance, which she accepts ; he had no sooner taken her up behind him on Horse-back, but she throws the snare about his Neck and strangles him, or at least stuns him, until the Robbers (who lie hid) come running in to her assistance and compleat what she hath begun. But besides that, there are Men in those quarters so skilful in casting the Snare, that they succeed as well at a distance as near at hand ; and if an Ox or any other Beast belonging to a Caravan run away, as sometimes it happens, they fail not to catch it by the Neck.

Dangerous
Women
upon the
Road from
Agra to
Dehly.

Three
Towns of
Dehly.

The first
Town of
Dehly.

The
Sepulchre
of Cha-
Humayon.

The Second
Town of
Dehly.

A Pyramide
of great
Antiquity
towards
Dehly.

There are three Towns of *Dehly*⁹ near to one another : ¹⁰ The first (which is entirely destroy'd, and whereof some Ruins only remain,) was very ancient, and the learned Indians will have it to have been the Capital Town of the States of King *Porus*, so famous for the War which he maintained against *Alexander the Great*.¹¹ It was nearer the Source of the *Gemma* than the two others that have been built since. The Indians say it had two and fifty Gates, and there is still at some distance from its Ruins, a Stone-bridge, from whence a Way hath been made with lovely Trees on each side, which leads to the second *Dehly*, by the place where the Sepulchre of *Cha-Humayon*¹² is.

This Second Town of *Dehly* is that which was taken by the King, whom they call the first Conquerour of the *Indies* amongst the Modern Moguls, though his Father *Mirzababer* had invaded it before. It was then beautified with a great many stately Sepulchres of the *Patan* Kings, and other Monuments which rendered it a very lovely Town ; but *Cha-Gehan* the Father of King *Auran-Zeb*, demolished it for the Building of *Gehan-Abad*. Towards the Sepulchre of *Humayon*, there is a Pyramide¹³ or Obelisk of Stone, which by its unknown characters shews a great Antiquity, and which is thought in the *Indies* to have been erected by *Alexander's* order, after the defeat of *Porus*. This I cannot believe, because I make no doubt, but that the Inscription would then have been in Greek, which is not so.

The Third Town of *Dehly* is joyned to the remains of the Second: *Cha-Gehan* resolving to imitate King *Ecbar*, and to give his Name to a new Town, caused this to be built of the Ruines of the Second *Dehly*, and called it *Gehan-Abad*: So the Indians call it at present, though amongst other Nations it still retains the Name of *Dehly*. It lies in an open Champian Countrey upon the brink of the *Gemna*, which hath its source in this Province, and runs into the *Ganges*. The fortress of it is half a League in circuit, and hath good Walls with round Towers every ten Battlements, and Ditches full of Water, wharfed with Stone, as likewise lovely Gardens round it: And in this Fort¹⁴ is the Palace of the King, and all the Ensignes¹⁵ of the Royalty.

The Third Town of *Dehly*.

The Fort of *Dehly*.

The Kings Palace at *Dehly*.

This Town of *Dehly* or *Gehan-abad*, contrary to¹⁶ that of *Agra* or *Ecbar-abad*, hath no Ditches but Walls filled up with Earth behind, and Towers. There is a place towards the Water-side for the fighting of Elephants, and other Exercises; and towards the Town there is another very large place where the *Raja*'s, who are in the Kings Pay encamp and keep Guard, and where many exercises are performed. The Market is also kept in that Square, and there Puppet-players, Juglers and Astrologers shew their tricks.

Here I should give a description of the inside of the Fort and Palace, and having begun with the two Elephants at the entry which carry two Warriours,¹⁷ speak of the Canal that enters into it; of the Streets that lead to the several Apartments; of the Officers and others who are upon the Parapets of these Streets on Duty; of the Portico's and stately Courts of Guard, where the *Mansepdars* and *Emirs* or *Omras* keep Guard; of the Halls where all sorts of Artisans, who have the Kings Pay work; of that great Court of the *Amcas*¹⁸ with its Arches, and the Consort that's made there; of the *Amcas* it self, that stately Hall adorn'd with thirty two Marble-Pillars, where the King (having all his Officers great and small standing before him, with their Hands a-cross their Breasts)¹⁹ gives every Day at noon Audience to all who have recourse to his Justice.

A Description of the Palace.

The Canal of the Palace of *Dehly*.

The posture of the Officers of the Great *Mogul*.

I should also describe that other Court, and Inner-hall²⁰ where the Prince gives Audience to his Ministers, concerning the Affairs of his State, and Household; and where the *Omras* and other great Men repair every Evening to entertain the King in the Persian Language though they be of different Nations. In fine, all the particulars of the Palace ought to be described, without forgetting that stately Throne of Massive Gold with its Peacock, so much talked of in the *Indies*, which the *Moguls* say was begun by *Tamerlan*,²¹ though that be very unlikely: For to whom could King *Humayon* and his Father have entrusted it in the time of their disasters? Seeing the Spoils

The Throne of the Great *Mogul*.

of the *Patan* Kings and other Sovereigns of the *Indies*, who were overcome by the Mogul Kings, are converted into Jewels and Precious Stones to adorn it, it is said to be worth above twenty Millions of Gold ;²² but who can know the value thereof? since it depends on the Stones that make the Riches as well as the Beauty thereof, whose weight and excellency must be particularly examin'd, if one would judge of their worth, and by consequence, of the value of the Throne.

Though I have had Memoirs given me of the Palace and that Throne, yet I'll say no more of them, because I make no doubt but that *Monsieur Bernier*, who hath lived many Years at the Court of the *Great Mogul*, in an honourable Employment, and commodious²³ for having a perfect knowledge of the Fort, Palace, and all that is in them, will give a compleat description of the same. I am confident also that he will not omit the Town, the chief places whereof are the great Mosque²⁴ with its Domes of white Marble, and the *Carvansery* of *Begum-Saheb*,²⁵ that Princess whom we mentioned before. The two chief Streets of *Dehly*²⁶ may be reckoned amongst the rarities of it,²⁷ for they are wide, streight, and very long: They have Arches all along on both sides, which serve for Shops for those who have their Ware-house backwards. Over these Arches there is a Terras-walk to take the Air on when they come out of their Lodgings; and these Streets ending at the great Square and Castle, make the loveliest Prospect that can be seen in a Town. There is nothing else considerable in *Dehly*. The ordinary Houses are but of Earth and Canes; and the other Streets are so narrow, that they are altogether incommodious.²⁸

But that inconvenience seems to contribute somewhat to the Reputation of that Capital City of the Empire of the Mogul, for seeing there is an extraordinary croud in the Streets while the Court is there, the Indians are perswaded that it is the most populous City in the World; and nevertheless I have been told, that it appears to be a Desart when the King is absent. This will not seem strange if we consider, that the Court of the *Great Mogul* is very numerous, because the great Men of the Empire are almost all there, who have vast retinues, because their Servants cost them but little in Diet and Cloaths; that that Court is attended by above thirty five thousand Horse, and ten or twelve thousand Foot, which may be called an Army; and that every Souldier hath his Wife, Children and Servants, who for the most part are married also, and have a great many Children as well as²⁹ their Masters. If to these we add all the drudges and rascally People which Courts and Armies commonly draw after them, and then the great number of Merchants and other Trading People, who are obliged to stick to them, because in that Countrey there is no Trade nor Money to be got but at Court. When I say, we consider *Dehly* void of all those

The great Mosque of *Dehly*, with its Domes of White Marble.

Streets of *Dehly*.

The *Great Mogul's* Court is very numerous.

Servants Diet costs little in the *Indies*.

An Army that follows the Court.

I have mentioned, and of many more still, it will easily be believed, that that Town is no great matter when the King is not there ; and if there have been four hundred thousand Men in it when he was there, there hardly remains the sixth part in his absence. Let us now see what Arms the *Moguls* use.

CHAPTER XXIII

OF THE ARMS OF THE MOGUL'S.

Their Swords are four Fingers broad, very thick, and by consequence heavy ; they are crooked a little, and cut only on the convexside. The Guard is very plain ; commonly no more but a handle of Iron, with a cross Bar of the same underneath the Pommel which is also of Iron,¹ is neither Round² nor Oval, but is flat above and below like a Whirligigg, that the Sword may not slip out of their Hands when they fight. The Swords made by the Indians are very brittle ; but the English furnish them with good ones brought from *England*. The *Mogul's* use Waste-belts for their Swords ; they are two Fingers broad and have two Hangers into which the Sword is put, so that the Point is always upwards ; and all the ordinary sort of People in the *Indies* carry them commonly in their Hand, or upon their Shoulder like a Musket.

Mogul's
Arms.

The form
of the
Mogul's
Swords.

It is their custom also to carry a Dagger by their sides, the Blade being near a Foot long, and above four Fingers broad at the Handle. They have an odd kind of Guard, and I don't remember that I have ever seen any thing in *France* relating to Arms that looks liker it than the handle of some Moulds for casting of Bullets, or small-shot, it is made of two square Bars of Iron one Finger broad, and about a Foot long, which are parallell, and four Inches distant one from another ; growing round they joyn together at the upper part of the Blade, and have cross Bars of two little Iron-Rods two Inches distant from one another.³

The *Moguls*
Dagger.

The Indians never want⁴ one of these Daggers by their side, betwixt the Girdle and *Caba* ; they carry it always bending a little sideways, so that the end of the Guard comes pretty high, and the Point pretty low upon their Stomach. The Officers of War have also Daggers with an Iron-Guard, but it is damasked and guilt ; and Persons of great quality have of them after the Persian fashion, which are less⁵ and richer.

Their other offensive Arms are the Bow and Arrow, the Javelin or *Zagaye*,⁶ and sometimes the Pistol :⁷ The Foot carry a Musket, or a Pike twelve Foot long.

The *Moguls*
Cannon
good for
nothing.

They have Cannon also in their Towns, but since they melt the Metal in diverse Furnaces, so that some of it must needs be better melted than others⁸ when they mingle all together, their Cannon commonly is good for nothing.

Defensive
Arms.

The defensive Arms of the *Indians*, are a round Buckler about two foot in diametre : It is made of Buff, varnished over with Black, and hath a great many Nails, the heads whereof are above an inch over ; with it they defend themselves against Arrows and Swords.

The *Moguls*
Buckler.

Coat of
Mail.
The *Moguls*
Vambrace.

They have likewise the Coat of Mail, the Cuirats, the Head-piece, and a Vambrace fastened to the Sword ; this Vambrace is a piece of Iron covering the Handle almost round, and growing broader as it reaches from the Guard of the Sword, to the upper part of the Pummel, and sometimes higher. It is four or five inches in diametre at that place, and is lined with Velvet, or some such like thing in the inside, that it may not hurt the Hand : So that by means of that Engine,⁹ both hand and handle are wholly covered from the Enemies blows.

CHAPTER XXIV

OF THE BEASTS AT DEHLY.

Beasts at
Dehly.

At *Dehly* are all sorts of Beasts that are known. The King hath many, and private Men who are Rich, have some also. They have Hawks¹ there of all kinds ; all kinds of Camels, Dromedaries, Mules, Asses, and Elephants. They have also Elks,² and Rhinoceroses which are as big as the largest Oxen. The ordinary Oxen there, are less than ours. Buffles they have also, and those of *Bengala* are the dearest, because they are very stout,³ and are not at all afraid of Lions. Nor do they want Dogs of all sorts, but those which are brought from *Maurenahar*, or *Transoxiane*, are most esteemed for Hunting, though they be small : However the *Indian* Dogs are better for the Hare. They have also Stags, Lions and Leopards.

Elks.
Rhinoceros.
Buffles.

Dogs of
Maurenahar.

Horses.

There is abundance of all sorts of Horses there. Besides the Country breed, which the *Moguls* make use of, and which are very good Horses ; they have others also from the Country of the *Ulbecks*,⁴ *Arabia*, and *Persia*, those of *Arabia* being most esteemed, and the loveliest of all are constantly reserved for the King. They have neither Oats nor Barley given them in the *Indies* ; so that Foreign Horses when they are brought thither, can hardly feed. The way they treat them is thus : Every Horse has a Groom, he curries and dresses him an hour before day,^{4a} and so soon as it is day⁵ makes him drink ;

The way of
dressing
and feeding
the Horses.

at seven of the Clock in the Morning, he gives him five or six balls of a composition called *Donna*,⁶ made of three Pounds of Flower, the weight of five *Pechas* of Butter, and of four *Pechas* of *Jagre*; these Balls are at first forced down his Throat, and so by degrees he is accustomed to that way of feeding, which in some Months after, he grows very fond of.

An hour after, the Groom gives the Horse Grass, and continues to do so at certain times, every hour of the day after; and about four of the Clock, after noon, he gives him three Pound of dried Pease bruised; he mingles Water with them, and sometimes a little Sugar, according to the disposition the Horse is in; and when Night is drawing on, he carefully prepares his Horses litter, which is of dry Dung, laid very thick, which he is very careful to provide. For that end, he gathers all that his Horse hath made, and when that is not sufficient, he buys from others, who are not so much concerned for the convenience of their Horses.

Litter of dry Horse-dung.

At *Dehly*, as elsewhere, they take care to adorn their Horses. The great Lords have Saddles and Housses⁷ Embroadered, and set sometimes with Pretious Stones, proportionably to the charge they intend to be at: But the finest Ornament, though of less cost, is made of six large flying tassels of long white Hair, taken out of the Tails of wild Oxen,⁸ that are to be found in some places of the *Indies*. Four of these large tassels fastened before and behind to the Saddle,⁹ hang down to the ground, and the other two are upon the Horses head; so that when the Rider spurs on his Horse to a full speed, or if there be any wind, these tassels flying in the Air, seem to be so many wings to the Horse, and yield a most pleasant prospect.¹⁰

Flying tassels of white Hair, taken out of the tails of some Oxen.

There are several sorts of Elephants at *Dehly*, as well as in the rest of the *Indies*; but those of *Ceilan*¹¹ are preferred before all others, because they are the stoutest, though they be the least, and the *Indians* say that all other Elephants stand in awe of them. They go commonly in Troops and then they offer violence to no body, but when they straggle from the rest, they are dangerous. There are always some of them that have the cunning and inclination to do mischief; and in the Country these are called, Robbers on the Highways, because if they meet a Man alone, they'll kill and eat him.¹²

Elephants.

Elephants Robbers on the High ways.

Strong Elephants can carry forty *Mans*; at fourscore Pound weight the *Man*. Those of the Country of *Golconda*, *Siam*, *Cochin*, and *Sumatra*, are indeed, less esteemed than the Elephants of *Ceilan*, but they are much stronger, and surer footed in the Mountains; and that is the reason, why the great Men, (when they are to Travel,) provide themselves of those, rather than of the Elephants of *Ceilan*. However it may be said in general, that Elephants, of what Country or kind soever

An Elephants Load.

The choice of Elephants.

The food
that is
given to an
Elephant.

Mickdem-
bers.

Elephants
docile.

Elephants
furious.

Elephant-
hunting.

Elephant-
hunters.

they be, are the surest footed of all Beasts of Carriage, because it is very rare to see them make a trip¹³: But seeing it is chargeable¹⁴ to feed them, and that besides the Flesh they give them to eat, and the Strong-waters they drink, it costs at least half a *Pistol*¹⁵ a day for the Paste of Flower, Sugar and Butter, that must be given to a single one; there are but few that keep them: Nay, the great Lords themselves entertain¹⁶ no great number of them; and the *Great Mogul* has not above five hundred for the use of his household, in carrying the Women in their *Mickdembers*¹⁷ with grates (which are a sort of Cages) and the Baggage; and I have been assured, that he hath not above two hundred for the Wars, of which some are employed in carrying small Field-pieces upon their Carriages.

When an Elephant is in his ordinary disposition, his Governour can make him do what he pleases with his Trunck. That instrument, which many call a hand, hangs between their great Teeth, and is made of Cartilages or Gristles: He¹⁸ will make them play several¹⁹ tricks with that Trunck; salute his friends, threaten those that displease him, beat whom he thinks fit, and could make them tear a Man into pieces in a trice, if he had a mind to it. The governour sits on the Elephants Neck, when he makes him do any thing, and with a prick of Iron in the end of a Stick, he commonly makes him Obey him. In a word, an Elephant is a very tractable Creature, provided he be not angry, nor in lust; but when he is so, the Governour himself is in much danger, and stands in need of a great deal of art, to avoid ruin; for then the Elephant turns all things topsy-turvy, and would make strange havock, if they did not stop him, as they commonly do, with fire-works that they throw at him.

Elephant-hunting is variously performed. In some places they make Pit-falls for them, by means whereof they fall into some hole or pit, from whence they are easily got out, when they have once entangled them well.²⁰ In other places they make use of a tame Female, that is in season for the Male, whom they lead into a narrow place, and tie her there; by her cries she calls the Male to her, and when he is there, they shut him in, by means of some Rails made on purpose, which they raise, to hinder him from getting out; he having the Female in the mean time on his back, with whom he Copulates in that manner, contrary to the custom of all other Beasts. When he hath done, he attempts to be gone, but as he comes, and goes²¹ to find a passage out, the Huntsmen, who are either upon a Wall, or in some other high place, throw a great many small and great Ropes, with some Chains, by means whereof, they so pester and entangle his Trunck, and the rest of his Body, that afterwards they draw near him without danger; and so having taken some necessary cautions, they lead him

to the company of two other tame Elephants, whom they have purposely brought with them, to shew him an example, or to threaten him if he be unruly.²²

There are other Snares besides for catching of Elephants and every Country hath its way. The Females go a Year with their young, and commonly they live about an hundred Years. Though these Beasts be of so great bulk and weight, yet they swim perfectly well, and delight to be in the Water: So that they commonly force them into it by Fire-works, when they are in rage, or when they would take them off from Fighting, wherein they have been engaged. This course is taken with the Elephants of the *Great Mogul*, who loves to see those vast moving bulks rush upon one another, with their Trunk, Head, and Teeth. All over the *Indies*, they who have the management of Elephants, never fail to lead them in the Morning to the River, or some other Water. The Beasts go in as deep as they can, and then stoop till the Water be over their Backs, that so their guides may wash them, and make them clean all over, whilst by little and little they raise their bodies up again.

She-
Elephants
go a year
with their
young.

Elephants
live 100
years.

CHAPTER XXV

OF OTHER CURIOSITIES AT DEHLY.

The Painters of *Dehly* are modester¹ than those of *Agra*, and spend not their pains about lascivious Pictures, as they do. They apply themselves to the representing of Histories, and in many places, one may meet with the Battels and Victories of their Princes, indifferently well² Painted. Order is observed in them, the Personages have the suitableness that is necessary to them,³ and the colours are very lovely, but they make Faces ill.⁴ They do things in miniature pretty well, and there are some at *Dehly* who Engrave indifferently well⁵ also; but seeing they are not much encouraged,⁶ they do not apply themselves to their work, with all the exactness they might; and all their care is to do as much work as they can, for present Money to subsist on.⁷

Painters
of *Dehly*.

There are People in *Dehly*, vastly rich in Jewels, especially the *Rajas* who preserve their Pretious Stones from Father to Son. When they are to make Presents, they chuse rather to buy, than to give away those which they had from their Ancestors: They daily encrease⁸ them, and must be reduced to an extream pinch, before they part with them.

People
Rich in
Jewels.

There is in this Town, a certain Metal called *Tutunac*,⁹ that looks like Tin, but is much more lovely and fine, and is often taken for Silver; that Metal is brought from *China*.

*Theban
Stone or
Garnet.*

They much esteem a greyish Stone there, wherewith many Sepulchres are adorned ; and they value it the more, that¹⁰ it is like *Theban Stone*, or *Garnet*. I have seen in the Countries of some *Rajas*, and elsewhere, *Mosques* and *Pagods* wholly built of them.

*Screws at
Dehly.*

The Indians of *Dehly* cannot make a Screw as our Locksmiths do ; all they do, is to fasten to each of the two pieces that are to enter into one another, some Iron, Copper, or Silver wire, turned Screw-wise, without any other art than of souldering the Wire to the pieces ; and in opening them, they turn the Screws from the left hand to the right, contrariwise to ours, which are turned from the right to the left.

*Citrus
Flowers
drive
away the
Flies.*

They have a very easie remedy in that Country, to keep the Flies from molesting their Horses, when the Grooms are so diligent as to make use of it : For all they have to do, is to make provision of Citrus Flowers,¹¹ and rub them therewith. But many slight that remedy, because it must be often renewed, seeing the Curry-comb¹² and Water takes it off. I cannot tell if these Flowers have the same vertue in our Country.

*The
Women of
Dehly.*

The Women of *Dehly* are handsome, and the Gentiles very chaste ; insomuch, that if the *Mahometan* Women did not by their wantonness dishonour the rest, the Chastity of the *Indians* might be proposed¹³ as an example to all the Women of the *East*. These *Indian* Women are easily delivered of their Children ; and sometimes they'll walk¹⁴ about the Streets next day after they have been brought to Bed.

CHAPTER XXVI

OF THE FESTIVAL OF THE KINGS BIRTH-DAY.

*The
Festival
of the
Kings
Birth-day.
The pomp
of the
Festival.*

There is a great Festival kept yearly at *Dehly*, on the Birth-day of the King regnant. It is Celebrated amongst the People, much after the same manner as the *Zinez*¹ of *Turkey* which I described in my first Book, and lasts five days ; It is Solemnized at Court with great Pomp. The Courts of the Palace are covered all over with Pavillions of Rich Stuffs ; all that is magnificent in Pretious Stones, Gold and Silver is exposed to view in the Halls ; particularly the great and glittering Throne, with those others that are carried about in progresses, which are likewise adorned with Jewels. The fairest Elephants decked with the richest Trappings, are from time to time brought out before the King, and the loveliest Horses in their turns also ; and since the first *Mogul* Kings intro-

*Decked
Elephants.*



The weighing of the Emperor

duced a custom of being weighed in a Balance,² to augment The King is weighed.
the pleasure of the solemnity, the King in being, never fails to do so.

The Balance wherein this is performed, seems to be very Rich. They say that the Chains are of Gold, and the two Scales which are set with Stones,³ appear likewise to be of Gold, as the Beam of the Balance does also, though some affirm that all is but Guilt. The King Richly attired, and shining with Jewels, goes into one of the Scales of the Balance, and sits on his Heels, and into the other are put little bales, so closely packt, that one cannot see what is within them : The People are made believe, that these little bales (which are often changed,) are full of Gold, Silver and Jewels, or of Rich Stuffs ; and the *Indians* tell Strangers so, when they would brag of their Country, then⁴ they weigh the King with a great many things that are good to eat ; and I believe that what is within the Bales, is not a whit more Pretious.

However when one is at the Solemnity,⁵ he must make as if he believed all that is told him, and be very attentive to the Publication of what the King weighs ; for it is published, and then exactly set down in writing. When it appears in the Register, that the King weighs more than he did the year before, all testifie their Joy by Acclamations ; but much more by rich Presents, which the Grandees, and the Ladies of the *Haram* make to him, when he is returned to his Throne ; and these Presents amount commonly to several Millions. The King distributes, first a great quantity of Artificial Fruit and other knacks of Gold and Silver, which are brought to him in Golden Basons ; but these knacks are so slight, that the profusion (which he makes in casting them promiscuously amongst the Princes, and other Great men of his Court, who croud one another to have their share,) lessens not⁶ the Treasure of his Exchequer ; for I was assured that all these trifles would not cost one hundred thousand Crowns. And indeed, *Auran-Zeb* is reckoned a far greater Husband,⁷ than a great King ought to be : during five days, there is great rejoycing all over the Town, as well as in the Kings Palace, which is exprest by Presents, Feastings, Bonfires and Dances ; and the King has a special care to give Orders, that the best Dancing women and Baladines,⁸ be always at Court.

The Gentiles being great lovers of Play at Dice ; there is much Gaming, during the five Festival days. They are so eager at it in *Dehly* and *Benara*,⁹ that there is a vast deal of Money lost there, and many People ruined. And I was told a Story of a *Banian* of *Dehly*, who played so deep at the last Festival, that he lost all his Money, Goods, House, Wife and Children. At length, he that won them, taking pity of him,

The Balance wherein the King is weighed

The presents of the Festival.

Trifles given by the King.

Auran-Zeb a great Husband.

Publick rejoycing.

Play at Dice.

gave him back his Wife and Children ; but no more of all his Estate, than to the value of an hundred Crowns.

To conclude, The Province of *Dehly*, hath no great extent to the South-East, which is the side towards *Agra* ; but is larger on the other sides, especially Eastwards, where it hath a great many Towns : The Ground about it is excellent, where it is not neglected, but in many parts it is.

The ground about the Capital City is very fertile ; Wheat and Rice grow plentifully there. They have excellent Sugar also, and good Indigo, especially towards *Chalimar*,¹⁰ which is one of the Kings Countrey-houses, about two Leagues from *Dehly*, upon the way to *Lahors*. All sorts of Trees, and Fruit grow there also ; but amongst others, the *Ananas* are exceeding good. I shall speak of them in the Description of the Kingdom of *Bengala*.

It is specified in my Memoire, that this Province pays the *Great Mogul* yearly, between thirty seven and thirty eight Millions.

CHAPTER XXVII

OF THE PROVINCE AND TOWN OF AZMER.

The Province of *Azmer*, lies to the North-East of *Dehly* ;¹ the Countrey of *Sinde* bounds it to the West : It hath *Agra* to the East, *Multan* and *Pengeab*² to the North, and *Guzerat* to the South. This Province of *Azmer*, hath been divided into three Provinces of *Bando*,³ *Gesselmere*⁴ and *Soret* ;⁵ and the Capital City at present, is *Azmer*,⁶ which is distant from *Agra*, about sixty two Leagues.

It is Six Leagues from *Agra* to *Fetipour*, 6 Leag. to *Bramabad*. 7 Leag. to *Hendouen*. 7 Leag. to *Mogul-serai*. 6 Leag. to *Lascot*. 7 Leag. to *Chasol*. 4 Leag. to *Pipola*. 7 Leag. to *Mosa-baa*. 5 Leag. to *Bender-Sandren*. 6 Leag. to *Mandil*. 1 Leag. to *Azmer*.

This Town lies in twenty five Degrees and a half, North Latitude,⁸ at the foot of a very high, and almost inaccessible Mountain :⁹ There is on the top of it, an extraordinary strong Castle ;¹⁰ to mount to which, one must go turning and winding for above a League ; and this Fort gives a great deal of reputation to the Province. The Town hath Stone-Walls, and a good Ditch ; without the Walls of it, there are several Ruins of Fair Buildings, which shew great antiquity. King *Ecbar* was Master of this Province,¹¹ before he built *Agra* : and before it fell into his hands, it belonged to a famous *Raja*, or *Raspoute*, called *Ramgend* ;¹² who came to *Fetipour*, and resigned it to him ; and at the same time, did him Hommage for it.

The
Ground of
Dehly.

Chalimar,
one of the
Kings
Country
Houses.

The Yearly
Revenue of
Dehly.

The Road
from *Agra*
to *Azmer*.⁷

The
Situation
of *Azmer*.

Raja
Ramgend

This *Raja* was *Mahometan*, as his Predecessors had been ; and besides a great many ancient marks of Mahometanism, that were in that Country in his Time ; the famous *Cogea Mondy*,¹³ who was in reputation of Sanctity amongst the Mahometans, was revered at *Azmer* ; and from all Parts, they came in Pilgrimage to his Tombe :¹⁴ It is a pretty fair Building, having three Courts paved with Marble ; whereof the first is extremely large, and hath on one side, several Sepulchres of false Saints ; and on the other, a Reservatory of Water, with a neat Wall about it. The second Court is more beautified, and hath many Lamps in it. The third is the loveliest of the three ; and there the Tomb of *Cogea Mondy* is to be seen in a Chappel whose door is adorned with several Stones of colour, mingled with Mother of Pearl. There are besides, three other smaller Courts, which have their Waters and Buildings for the convenience and lodging of *Imans*, who are entertained¹⁵ to read the *Alcoran*.

Cogea Mondy.

The Sepulchre of *Cogea Mondy*.

King *Ecbar* had a mind to try as well as the rest, the Virtue of this same *Cogea-Mondy* ; and because he had no Male-Children, he had recourse to his Intercession to obtain them. He made a Vow to go and visit his Tomb, and resolved upon the Journey in the bourg of *Agra*.

Ecbar's Vow for obtaining of Male-Children.

Though it be a walk of threescore and two Leagues from *Agra* to *Azmer*, yet he performed the Pilgrimage on foot,¹⁶ having ordered Stone-seats to be made at certain distances, for him to rest on : Nevertheless, he was quite tired out ; for being of a hot and stirring¹⁷ Nature, he could hardly lay a constraint upon himself to walk softly,¹⁸ so that he fell sick upon it. He entered bare-footed (as the rest did) into the Chappel of the *Mock-Saint* : There he made his Prayers, gave great Charity ; and having performed his Devotion, and read the *Epitaph* of *Cogea Mondy*, which is written there in the *Persian* Language ; he returned back to the place from whence he came.

King *Ecbar* made a Pilgrimage of 60 Leag. on foot.

As he passed by *Fetipour*, he consulted a certain *Dervish*, named *Selim*, who was esteemed very devout ; and the *Mahometans* say, that this Man told him, that God had heard his Prayers, and that he should have three Sons,¹⁹ at that, *Ecbar* was so well pleased with this Prophecy, especially when it began to be fulfilled, that he gave his Eldest Son the name of the *Dervish Selim* ; that Town which was called *Sycary*, the name of *Fetipour*, which signifies a place of Joy and Pleasure ; and that he built a very stately Palace there, with a Design to make it the Capital of his Empire.

Selim a Dervish.

The Prophecy of *Selim* the *Dervish*.

Sicary.

Azmer is a Town of an indifferent bigness, but when the *Great Mogol* comes there, there is no room to stir in it, especially when there is any Festival ; because, besides the Court and Army, all the People of the Country about, flock thither, and some disorder always happens.

Neurous.

Let us speak a little of the Feast of *Neurous*,²⁰ which King *Gehanguir* Celebrated at *Azmer*,²¹ where he happened to be one New Years day ; for *Neurous*, signifies *New Day* ; and by that, is meant, the First day of the Year, which begins in *March*, when the Sun enters into *Aries*.

CHAPTER XXVIII

OF THE FEAST OF THE NEW YEAR.

The Feast
of the
New Year.

The
Ornaments
of *Neurous*.

The Memoires that were given me observe, that some days before the Festival, all the Palace was adorned ; and especially, the Places and Halls, into which People were suffered¹ to enter : There was nothing all over but Sattin, Velvet, Cloath and Plates of Gold : The Halls were hung with rich Stuffs, Flower'd with Gold and Silver : And that where the *Great Mogul* appear'd in his Throne, was the most magnificent of all : The Cloath of State that covered it, was all set with Pretious Stones ; and the Floor was covered with a Persian Carpet of Gold and Silver Tissue. The other Halls had in like manner, their Cloaths of State ; Their Foot-Carpets, and other Ornaments, and the Courts were also decked (the most considerable of them) with lovely Tents pitched there ; though they were not so Pompous as those which are pitched in the Capital Cities of the Empire, upon a like Solemnity. The first day of the Feast, the Throne was placed in the Royal Hall, and was covered all over with the Jewels of the Crown ; the number of them was the greater, that there was but one of the Kings Thrones brought ; and that (as it is usual) the Jewels of the other little Thrones had been taken off, for the adorning of this.

A Fair of
the Ladies
of the
Serraglio.

The Great
Ladies,
Shop-
keepers.

The Festival began in the *Serraglio*, by a Fair² that was kept there. The Ladies and Daughters of the great Lords, were permitted to come to it ; and the Court-Ladies of less Quality, (who thought themselves witty enough to make their Court, by putting off the curious Things that they had brought thither) were the Shop-keepers : But these had not all the Trade to themselves ; for the Wives of the *Omras* and *Rajas* (who were allowed to come in) opened Shop also, and brought with them the richest Goods they could find ; and which they thought suited best with the King, and the Princesses of his *Serraglio*. Many had occasion by selling,³ and disputing pleasantly and wittily, about the Price of the things, which the King and his Wives came to cheapen,⁴ to make their Husbands Court ; and to slip in Presents to those that could

serve them in bettering their Fortune, or keeping them as they were.

The King and his *Begum*, pay'd often double value for a *Begum*. thing, when the Shop-keeper pleas'd them ; but that was, when they rallied wittily and gentilely (as People of Quality commonly do)⁵ in buying and selling : And so it happened, that the wittiest and fairest were always most favoured. All these stranger Ladies, were entertained in the *Serraglio* with Feasting, and Dancings of *Quenchenies*,⁶ who are Women and Maids of a Caste of that name, having no other Profession but that of Dancing : And this Fair lasted five days. *Quenchenies.*

It is true, The Commodities sold there, were not so fine, nor rich, as they would have been, had the Festival been kept⁷ in *Dehly* or *Agra* ; but the best, and most pretious Things that were to be found in *Azmer*, and in the nearest Towns, were exposed to Sale there ; wherewith the King was very well satisfied.

During these rejoycings of the *Serraglio*, The great Men, who kept Guard, entertained themselves at their Posts, or elsewhere ; And there were a great many Tables served at the Kings charges, which gave them occasion⁸ to Celebrate the *Neurous*, or New Years Feast merrily.

The King appeared daily in the *Amcas*, at his usual hour, but not in extraordinary Magnificence before the seventh day ; and then the Lords (who had every day changed Cloaths) appeared in their richest Apparel. They all went to salute the King, and His Majesty made them Presents, which were only some Galantries⁹ of small value, that did not cost him Four hundred thousand French Livres. The eighth and ninth days, The King also sat on his Throne, (when he was not Feasting with his Princess (sic) and Omras, in one of the Out-Halls) where he made himself several times familiar with them ; but that familiarity excused them not from making him Presents¹⁰. There was neither *Omra*, nor *Mansepdar*, but made him very rich Presents ; and that of the Governour, or Tributary of *Azmer*, was the most considerable of all. These Presents were reckoned in all, to amount to fourteen or fifteen Millions. The Festival concluded at Court, by a review of the Kings Elephants and Horses, pompously¹¹ equipped ; and in the Town by a great many Fire-works, that came after their Feasting. *Gehanguir*, indeed, gave not the Princes, and great Lords, the equivalent of the Presents they made him at this Solemnity : But he rewarded them afterwards by Offices, and Employments. And this is the course the King commonly takes with them, and few complain of it. *The Kings Presents at Neurous.*
The Presents of the Great Lords to the King.

CHAPTER XXIX

OF THE BEASTS OF THE COUNTRY OF AZMER,
AND OF THE SALTPETRE.

The Musk
Animal.

There is in these Countries, a Beast like a Fox in the Snout, which is no bigger than a Hare: the Hair of it, is of the colour of a Stags, and the Teeth like to a Dogs. It yields most excellent Musk;¹ for at the Belly it hath a Bladder full of corrupt Blood, and that Blood maketh the Musk, or is rather the Musk it self: They take it from it, and immediately cover the place where the Bladder is cut, with Leather, to hinder the scent from evaporating: But after this Operation is made, the Beast is not long liv'd.²

Pullets.

There are also towards *Azmer*, Pullets³ whose Skin is all over black, as well as their Bones, though the Flesh of them be very white, and their Feathers of another colour.

Maids Mar-
riageable
at 8 or 9
years of age.

In the extremity of this Province, the Maids are very early Marriageable, and so they are in many other places of the *Indies*, where most part can enjoy Man,⁴ at the age of eight or nine years,⁵ and have Children at ten. That's a very ordinary thing in the Country, where the young ones go naked, and wear nothing on their Bodies, but a bit of Cloath to cover their Privities.

The
Childrens
playes.

Most of the Children in these Countries have the same playes to divert them with, as amongst us: they commonly make use of Tops, Giggs, and Bull-flies in the season; of Childrens Trumpets, and many other Toys of that nature. The People are rude and uncivil: The Men are great clowns, and very impudent; they make a horrid noise when they have any quarrel, but what Passion soever they seem to be in, and what bitter words soever they utter, they never come to blows. The Servants are very unfaithful, and many times rob their Masters.

Venemous
Scorpions.

The remedy
of Fire.

There are very venemous Scorpions in that Country, but the *Indians* have several remedies to cure their Stinging, and the best of all is Fire. They take a burning Coal, and put it near the wound; they hold it there as long and as near as they can: The venom keeps one from being incommoded by the heat of the Fire; on the contrary, the Poison is perceived to work out of the Wound by little and little, and in a short time after, one is perfectly cured.

The Oxen
are shod.

The ways of this Country being very Stony, they shoe the Oxen when they are to Travel far on these ways. They cast them⁶ with a Rope fastened to two of their Legs, and so soon as they are down, they tie their four Feet together, which they put upon an Engine⁷ made of two Sticks in form of an X;

and then they take two little thin and light pieces of Iron, which they apply to each Foot, one piece covering but one half Foot, and that they fasten with three Nails above an Inch long, which are clenched upon the side of the Hoofs, as Horses with us are shod.

Seeing the Oxen in the *Indies* are very tame, many People make use of them in Travelling, and ride them like Horses ; though commonly they goe but at a very slow pace. Instead of a Bit, they put one or two small strings through the Gristle of the Oxes Nostrils, and throw over his Head a good large Rope fastened to these strings, as a Bridle, which is held up by the bunch he hath on the fore part of his back, that our Oxen have not. They Saddle him as they do a Horse, and if he be but a little spurred, he'll go very fast ; and there are some that will go as fast as a good Horse. These Beasts are made use of generally all over the *Indies* ; and with them only are drawn Waggon, Coaches and Chariots, allowing more or fewer, according as the load is heavier or lighter.

Indian Oxen.

The Oxen are Saddled.

The Oxen are Yoaked by a long Yoak at the end of the Pole, laid upon their Necks ; and the Coach-man holdeth in his hand the Rope to which the strings that are put through the Nostrils are fastened. These Oxen are of different sizes, there are great, small, and of a middle size, but generally all very hardy, so that some of them will Travel fifteen Leagues a day. There is one kind of them, almost six Foot high, but they are rare ; and on the contrary another, which they call Dwarfs, because they are not three Foot high ; these have a bunch on their Back as the rest have, go very fast, and serve to draw small Waggon.

The Oxen serve to draw Coaches, as well as Carts and Waggon.

They have white Oxen there, which are extraordinary dear, and I saw two of them which the Dutch had, that cost them two hundred Crowns a piece ; they were really, lovely, strong and good, and their Chariot that was drawn by them, made a great shew. When People of quality have lovely Oxen, they keep them with a great deal of care ; they deck the ends of their Horns with sheaths of Copper ; they use them to Cloaths as Horses are, and they are daily curried and well fed. Their ordinary Provender is Straw and Millet, but in the Evening they make each Ox swallow down five or six large Balls of a Paste made of Flower, Jagre and Butter kned together. They give them sometimes in the Country, *Kichery*,^a which is the ordinary Food of the Poor ; and it is called *Kichery*, because it is made of a Grain of the same name boiled with Rice, Water and Salt : Some give them dried Pease, bruised and steeped in Water.

White Oxen are very dear.

They have great care of the Oxen.

The food of the Oxen.

Kichery.

After all,^o no part of this Province is fertile, but the Countries about *Azmer*, and *Soret*, for the Countries of *Gessel-*

The Salt-
petre of
Azmer.

The way
of making
Saltpetre.

mere, and *Bando*, are Barren. The chief Trade of *Azmer* is in Saltpetre,⁹ and there are great quantities of it made there, by reason of the black fat Earth that is about it, which is the properest of all other Soils to afford Saltpetre. The *Indians* fill a great hole with that Earth, and pound it in Water with great pounders of very hard Timber, when they have reduced it into a Liquid mash, they let it rest, to the end the Water may imbibe all the Saltpetre out of the Earth: This mixture having continued so for some time, they draw off what is clear, and put it into great Pots, wherein they let it boil, and continually scum it; when it is well boiled, they again drain what is clear out of these Pots, and that being congealed and dried in the Sun, where they let it stand for a certain time, it is in its perfection; and then they carry it to the Sea-port Towns, and especially to *Surrat*, where the Europeans and others buy it to Ballast their Ships with, and sell elsewhere.

This Province of *Azmer*, pays commonly to the *Great Mogul*, thirty two or thirty three Millions,¹⁰ notwithstanding the barren places that are in it.

CHAPTER XXX

OF THE PROVINCE OF SINDE OR SINDY.

The
Province
of *Sinde*
or *Sindy*.

The River
Sinde.

Ginguis-Can.
Gelaleddin.

Carezmian
Princes.

Tatta.

Diul.

Dobil.

Sinde or *Sindy*, which some call *Tatta*,¹ is bounded with the Province of *Azmer* to the East; and the Mountains which border it on that side, belong to the one or other Country. It hath *Multan* to the North, to the South, a Desert and the *Indian Sea*;² and to the West, *Macran* and *Segestan*.³ It reaches from South to North, on both sides the River *Indus*, and that River is by the Orientals called also *Sindy* or *Sinde*. On the banks of it was fought that famous Battel betwixt *Ginguis-Can*, first Emperour of the *Tartars* or Ancient *Moguls*, and the Sultan *Gelaleddin*,⁴ which decided the destiny of the Empire in favour of the former, against the *Carezmian*⁵ Princes, who had for a long time been Masters of the Kingdom of *Persia*, of all *Zagatay*, and of the greatest part of the Country of *Turquestan*.

The chief Town of this Province is *Tatta*, and the most Southern Town, *Diul*.⁶ It is still called *Diul-Sind*, and was heretofore called *Dobil*. It lyes in the four and twentieth or five and twentieth degree of Latitude. There are some Orientals, that call the Country of *Sinde*, by the name of the Kingdom of *Diul*. It is a Country of great Traffick,⁷ and especially in the Town of *Tatta*, where the *Indian Merchants* buy a great many curiosities made by the Inhabitants, who

are wonderfully Ingenious in all kind of Arts. The *Indus* makes a great many little Islands towards *Tatta*, and these Islands being fruitful and pleasant, make it one of the most commodious⁸ Towns of the *Indies*, though it be exceeding hot there.

There is also a great trade at *Lourebender*,⁹ which is three *Lourebender.* days Journey from *Tatta*, upon the Sea, where there is a better Road for Ships, than in any other place of the *Indies*. The finest *Palanquins*¹⁰ that are in all *Indostan*, are made at *Tatta*, and there is nothing neater, than the Chariots with two Wheels, which are made there for Travelling. It is true, they have but few Coaches, because few *Europeans* go thither, and hardly any of the *Indians* make use of Coaches but they ; but these Chariots are convenient enough for Travelling, and are not *Chariots convenient for Travelling.* harder than Coaches. They are flat and even, having a border four fingers broad, with Pillars all round, more or fewer, according to the fancy of him for whom it is made ; but commonly there are but eight, of which there are four at the four corners of the Engine,¹¹ the other four at the sides, and thongs of Leather are interwoven from Pillar to Pillar, to keep one from falling out. Some, (I confess,) have the Chariot surrounded with Ballisters of Ivory, but few are willing to be at the charges of that, and the Custom of making use of that Net-work of Leather, makes that most part cares not for Ballisters, but go so about the Town, sitting after the Levantine manner, upon a neat Carpet that covers the bottom of the Chariot. Some cover it above with a slight Imperial, but that commonly is only when they go into the Country, to defend them from the Sun-beams.

This Machine hath no more but two Wheels put under the side of the Chariot, and not advancing outwards, they are of the height of the fore Wheels of our Coaches ; have eight square spoaks, are four or five fingers thick, and many times are not shod. Hackny-coaches to Travel in, with two Oxen, are hired for five and twenty pence, or half a Crown a day ; but whatever ease the *Indians* may find in them, our Coaches are much better, because they are hung. *The Wheeles of the Indian Chariots.*

The Wheels of Waggons or Carts, for carrying of Goods, *Cart-Wheeles.* have no Spoaks ; they are made of one whole piece of solid Timber, in form of a Mill-stone, and the bottom of the Cart, is always a thick frame of Wood. These Carts are drawn by eight or ten Oxen, according to the heaviness of the Loads. When a Merchant conveys any thing of consequence, he ought to have four Soldiers, or four Pions, by the sides of the Waggon ; to hold the ends of the Rope that are tyed to it, to keep it from overturning, if it come to heeld in bad way ;¹² and that way is used in all Caravans, though commonly they consist of above two hundred Waggons.



CHAPTER XXXI

OF PALANQUINS.

Palanquin.

Indians that are Wealthy, Travel neither in Chariots nor Coaches: They make use of an Engine which they call *Palanquin*, and is made more neatly at *Tatta*, than any where else. It is a kind of Couch with four feet, having on each side ballisters four or five Inches high, and at the head a feet a back-stay like a Childs Cradle, which sometimes is open like Ballisters, and sometimes close and Solid. This Machine¹ hangs by a long Pole, which they call *Pambou*,² by means of two frames nailed to the feet of the Couch, which are almost like to those that are put to the top of moving Doors, to fasten Hangings by; and these two frames which are the one at the head, and the other at the opposite end, have Rings through which great Ropes are put, that fasten and hang the Couch to the *Pambou*.

The
Pambous of
Palanquins.

The *Pambous* that serve for *Palanquins*, are thick round Canes five or six Inches in Diametre, and four Fathom long, crooked Arch-wise in the middle, so that on each side from the bending, there remains a very-streight end, about five or six foot long. On the bending of the *Pambou*, there is a covering laid of two pieces of Cloath sewed together, betwixt which at certain distances, there are little Rods cross-ways, to hold the Cloaths so, that they may conveniently cover the *Palanquin*. If a Woman be in it, it is covered close over with red-Searge, or with Velvet if she be a great Lady: And if they be afraid of Rain, the whole machine is covered over with a waxed Cloath. In the bottom of these *Palanquins*, there are Mats and Cushions to lie or sit upon, and they move or ease themselves by means of some Straps of Silk that are fastened to the *Pambou*, in the inside of the Machine.

The Orna-
ment of
Palanquins.

Every one adorns his *Palanquin* according to his humour, some have them covered with plates of carved Silver, and others have them only Painted with Flowers and other curiosities, or beset round³ with guilt Balls; and the Cases or Cages, wherein hang the Vessels that hold the Water which they carry with them to drink, are beautified in the same manner, as the Body of the *Palanquin*. These Machines are commonly very dear, and the *Pambou* alone of some of them, costs above an hundred Crowns; but to make a-mends⁴ for that, they have Porters at a very easie rate, for they have but nine or ten Livres a piece by the Month, and are obliged to Diet themselves: It requires four Men to carry a *Palanquin*, because each end of the *Pambou* rests upon the Shoulders of two Men; and when the Journey is long, some follow after to take their turn, and ease the others when they are weary.

The
Porters of
Palanquins.



Indian conveyances